

THE SAGE COLLECTION OF JUVENILE DRAMA: AN
EXAMINATION OF ITS VALUE AS A SOURCE OF
PRIMARY MATERIAL IN NINETEENTH CENTURY
ENGLISH THEATRE RESEARCH

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the value of the Sage Collection of Juvenile Drama at the University of Victoria as a primary source of Nineteenth Century theatre history research material; to provide a history of the Sage Collection itself; and to provide sufficient information about a significant portion of the collection so that informative museum displays may be mounted.

Chapter I is concerned solely with the history of the collection and with an explanation of the collection's physical condition. Chapter II begins the task of examining the value of the collection with a discussion of the way in which English Juvenile Drama in general is said to have reflected the live theatre of early Nineteenth Century London. The present state of scholarship in the field is examined, and the significance of the Sage Collection within the context of other collections and library resources in Canada is assessed.

In Chapter III the field is narrowed to issues associated with the publishers of Juvenile Drama who are best represented in the Sage Collection: the English

publishers of the mid-Nineteenth Century, and in particular J.K.Green. Green's early history and business methods are examined to see to what extent the publisher can be expected to provide faithful records of specific live productions in his juvenile plays. Chapter IV, which forms the body of the thesis, is concerned with a chronological play-by-play analysis of Green's work with special attention being paid to some twenty-six plays which were wholly original to Green. The method employed in each analysis is as follows: (i) the originality of the play is determined; (ii) an effort is made to discover which live production (if any) provided Green with his model; (iii) Green's play is examined to see to what extent it was faithful to the live production; and (iv) the juvenile play is finally examined for information about the live production that might not be obtainable from any other source.

Chapter V summarises the findings of Chapter IV and an assessment is made of evidence that seems to prove that Green made faithful copies of at least nineteen specific live productions. The most important value of the Sage Collection, however, is found not in the specific detail that it can provide of specific productions but in

the way in which it represents a spectrum of all the most typical and successful genres of popular theatre in the early and mid-Nineteenth Century. It is suggested, therefore, that the collection be used as a teaching aid and to direct theatre historians into avenues of wider research, rather than be regarded solely as an object of research in itself.

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CHAPTER I

A HISTORY OF THE SAGE COLLECTION

In the Spring of 1963 a large collection of Juvenile Drama material was bought by Victoria College from a bookseller in London, England. After attracting only fleeting interest for eleven years, the collection was drawn to this writer's attention in the Fall of 1974 as a potential source of primary theatre research material and a subject for an MA thesis. At that time, little was known about the origin of the collection or its history, and so the first task in the writing of this thesis has been to trace that history in an effort to explain the collection's present physical condition and to supply the background material necessary for a properly informative museum display.

The collection was made by Mr.H.C.Sage who lived at 89 Peterborough Road, Leyton, London, E.10. Since none of the plays in the collection actually has Mr.Sage's name attached to it in any way, and since it has not been possible to trace an unbroken line of events from Mr. Sage's death (the exact date of which is not known) to the arrival of the collection in Victoria the circumstantial

evidence that identifies the collection as Mr.Sage's should be listed. It is as follows:

- i) The presence in the collection of several bound books containing Mr.Sage's name and address, and a letter from the solicitors of the late G.Conetta addressed to Mr.Sage.¹
- ii) The presence of what appear to be lists of London streets on the backs of some of the card-mounted scenes in the collection; Mr.Sage was a mail delivery man.
- iii) The account by Mr.Seaton-Reid of Mr.Sage and his collecting habits which tallies exactly with the nature and condition of the collection.²
- iv) The presence in Seaton-Reid's own collection (now at the University of Toronto) of a number of sheets mounted in the same manner and on the same kind of card as some of those in the Sage Collection; Seaton-Reid was given a number of Sage's sheets after the latter's death.
- v) On Seaton-Reid's report, a number of the sheets he had from Sage's collection also had lists of London streets written on the back.

Mr.Sage worked for the Leyton Post Office for many years, first as a mail delivery man and, during the last few years before his retirement, in a more senior position; his address and occupation suggest that he was a man of limited income. He died some time between 1957 and 1962, the

¹Letter from M.de la Haye to H.C.Sage, March 16, 1957. (C.F.1.) "C.F.1." etc. refers to items in the Correspondence File held with the Sage Collection.

²Letters from D.Seaton-Reid to Peter Winn, February 12 and June 2, 1975 (C.F.18 and 30).

size of his collection and the amount of work that has evidently gone into it suggest that it was the product of a lifelong enthusiasm³ and so, although the exact period of Mr.Sage's collecting activity is not known, one can assume that it covered approximately the forty years between the end of the First World War and Mr.Sage's death.

Mr.Sage belonged to the last generation of Juvenile Drama collectors who could actually buy their prints directly over the counters of some of the original publishers' shops: in Mr.Sage's day the only two of these actually remaining were those of the Webb family and of Benjamin Pollock. "Young Harry" Webb had sold off all the stock of the Webb business, however, by 1939,⁴ and Louisa Pollock sold her father's business in 1944. In 1946 Pollock's reopened as Benjamin Pollock Ltd., selling reprints of Pollock's and Green's plays; while in Saint Helier, Jersey, George Conetta was making copies of earlier publishers' work until his death in 1956; so that even after the Second World War there were still some cheap sources open to Mr.Sage. Plays by the earliest publishers such as

³See description of the collection by G.W.Walford, January 17, 1963 (C.F.2).

⁴The dates given in this paragraph are taken from Speaight, The History of the English Toy Theatre, pp.183-198.

West (1811-54)⁵ or Hodgson (1822-43), however, were already regarded in Mr.Sage's day as valuable collector's items and would, when they appeared for sale, have been too costly for a postman's pocket. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Sage Collection does not contain examples of any of the earliest publishers' work except in the form of a few copies by Conetta. The collection does, however, provide extremely good coverage of most of the plays by the major later publishers: Green (1832-60), Redington (1850-76), Pollock (1876-1937), the Skelts (1835-72), Webb (1844-90) and Mathews (1886-1906). Seaton-Reid writes, referring to Mr.Sage:

He could not really afford to buy the early sheets by West and other publishers, as although it was many years ago when... he started collecting, the early sheets that appeared from time to time in print shops were priced at anything from 1/- to 5/-... and this was a lot of money to a working man in the days before the 1939-45 war.

When I started collecting in 1937, I could still buy Webb, Redington and Pollock sheets for about 2d plain, and 4d coloured, also the Skelt plays and those that Webb reissued from the original copper plates for the same price.⁶

⁵ These and following dates refer to business activity, not to lifespan.

⁶ Letter from Seaton-Reid to Peter Winn, February 12, 1975 (C.F.18).

The Juvenile Drama was a child's toy designed to be destroyed, the intention being for the characters to be coloured, mounted on card, cut out and made to move in front of similarly cut and coloured scenes and wings.⁷ Once cut up, of course, the tiny perishable pieces of card soon went the way of all children's toys; thus it is that the only examples of the Nineteenth Century Juvenile Drama that have survived have generally been found among the unsold stock of print-sellers, have been reprints from old plates, or have been the rare intact sheets that otherwise escaped the child's scissors. Collectors, of Mr.Sage's generation and before it, who found such sheets would not normally have dreamt of cutting them or colouring them but carefully preserved them, mounted in scrapbooks or filed in manilla folders. Mr.Sage, however, was not an antiquarian collector in the normal sense (he could not really afford to be), and the sheets that he was able to acquire from the sources mentioned above were relatively cheap and plentiful at that time, so he put them to their proper use: he coloured them and cut them and mounted his own productions in his own toy theatres, maintaining a small display

⁷For a detailed account see Speaight, op.cit., Chaps.8-10.

in his home and giving occasional performances for local children.⁸ It would seem, indeed, to judge from the many duplicate sheets of scenes and characters in the collection that have been painstakingly mounted and cut to no apparent purpose, that Mr.Sage drew as much satisfaction from the simple (perhaps therapeutic) manual labour involved in his hobby as from the fascination of building a collection.

Simple though Mr.Sage's interests may have been, he was nevertheless known to some of the more distinguished collectors of Juvenile Drama: George Speaight recalls him as a man who was perhaps "reliving his childhood"⁹ (as he would agree most collectors, in some part, are); and Desmond Seaton-Reid who visited his home many times, tells of his performances for local children and comments on his fine collection of gramophone records¹⁰ (clearly the Juvenile Drama was not his only interest). Mr.Sage was also known to George Conetta: it was this eccentric publisher's custom to borrow sheets of the earlier plays

⁸The extent of Mr.Sage's performances is not clear but they must have been on a fairly modest scale. The Leyton Library has no record of any public performances in their newspaper files (C.F.29).

⁹From a conversation with George Speaight, December 1974.

¹⁰Letter from Seaton-Reid to Peter Winn, February 12, 1975. (C.F.18).

from collectors, copy them with tremendous fidelity and then publish his copies under the name of G.Skelt.¹¹ Mr. Sage apparently loaned Conetta some of his own sheets¹² and received some of Conetta's original pen and ink copies of other plays in return. At least, this would seem to be the best explanation for the presence of these copies in the Sage Collection.

When Mr.Sage died his widow consulted Desmond Seaton-Reid on the disposal of the collection, after first allowing Seaton-Reid to remove a number of sheets to add to his own collection. As far as Seaton-Reid recalls, Mrs. Sage eventually decided to give her husband's collection to a local school.¹³ There is a gap here in our knowledge, for it is not known whether or not the collection actually arrived at a school nor, if it did, how it came to leave again. The badly confused state of the collection when it arrived in Victoria and some very childlike colouring which mars some of the pieces suggests that it may indeed have spent a short time in a classroom. The collection

¹¹For detailed account see Speaight, op.cit., pp.159-161.

¹²Letter from M.de la Haye to H.C.Sage, March 16, 1957 (C.F.1).

¹³Letters from Seaton-Reid to Peter Winn, February 12 and June 2, 1975, (C.F.18 and 30).

appeared next in the hands of a "dealer" (who has since, apparently, gone out of business) and was sold by him to the bookseller G.W.Walford of 186 Upper Street, London, N.1., presumably late in 1962.¹⁴ When Walford bought the collection it was already in a badly muddled state and, unable to sort it properly, and uncertain of its intrinsic value, he placed a value on it by weight, advertising it for sale at \$2,520 (£900). Since a great portion of this weight was made up by the plywood backing Mr.Sage had used for most of his nine thousand scenes and wings, this may have been an over-estimate of the value of the collection at the time. Walford's advertisement was seen by Mr.Carl Hare, a teacher in the English Department of Victoria College, and the College was persuaded to buy the collection. The order (No.59734) was placed at the end of January 1963 through the Library and was charged to Account No.12906 (English Supplies and Equipment).¹⁵

¹⁴ From a conversation with Walford, December 1974. Walford laid the blame for the confused state of the collection on the manner in which the dealer had handled it, but he did not necessarily know anything of the collection's earlier history.

¹⁵ Memorandum from R.W.McQueen to D.W.Halliwell, January 29, 1963, (C.F.3).

The Summer of 1963 saw the lady secretaries of the English Department (in particular Mrs. Whitfield and Mrs. Lawrence) patiently sorting the many thousands of pieces in an effort to reassemble the badly muddled collection into something like its original order: each separate play being put into a bag and labelled. Much credit should go to these ladies for having largely succeeded in their task and for thus making later displays of the collection possible. Mrs. Whitfield and Mrs. Lawrence both recall, however, a general feeling of disappointment when it was discovered that, even where there were numerous duplicates of certain sheets, the plays were not always complete. Victoria College became the University of Victoria on July 1, 1963. By the following summer a small exhibition of the Sage Collection was possible and a number of toy theatres were ordered for this purpose from Pollock's Toy Museum of London, the successor to Benjamin Pollock Ltd.¹⁶ The exhibition was mounted in Victoria Public Library in July 1964.¹⁷ After this exhibition the collection received little further attention and was put into storage.

¹⁶Letter from Department of English to Pollock's Theatres, May 21, 1964, (C.F.5).

¹⁷The Victoria Times, July 21, 1964 (P.F.1). "P.F.1." etc. refers to newspaper cuttings in the Publicity File held together with the collection.

With the establishment of a Theatre Department within the Faculty of Fine Arts of the new university, there has been renewed interest in the collection. The Department of History in Art has also shown an interest and, in 1972, at the instigation of John Krich and John Freeman of those respective departments, a new home was found for the collection in a room of the Maltwood Museum at Royal Oak. In that same year a student of the Theatre Department, Warron Gaffney, was awarded an Opportunities for Youth Grant to organize and study the collection, and some publicity was gained in the local press,¹⁸ but very little else, unfortunately, was achieved. In the Summer of 1974 an exhibition was held at the Maltwood Museum of some twenty-four scenes mounted in travelling showcases by members of the History in Art Department and museum staff, but these scenes were mounted without any expert advice and lacked a really informative catalogue. A slightly reduced and refurbished exhibition in the travelling cases

¹⁸The Daily Colonist, August 12, 1973, (P.F.2). See also an undated article (P.F.3).

¹⁹A brochure was published which gave a short account of the history of Juvenile Drama and then merely listed the titles of the plays on display with the dates and theatres of their first performance taken from Speaight, op.cit., pp.202-217.

was sent on a tour of British Columbia museums in the summer of 1975, again without any substantial support material. By this time there was growing concern for the physical condition of many of the pieces²⁰ and, as a precaution against deterioration and for more permanent storage purposes, the plays were removed from the old paper bags in which they had been stored since 1963 and placed in boxes.

Throughout its history in Victoria, everyone involved with the Sage Collection has been aware of the potential value of such a collection. To those interested in the history of the English theatre the collection has promised illustrations of Nineteenth Century dramas and contemporary stage practice. Alternatively, to art historians the collection has suggested the possibility of studies of stylistic and thematic currents within the broader history of the popular arts: cartooning, decoration, book illustrations, etc., and, of course, the collection has also suggested the possibility of a study of children's toys as they are related to adult entertainments. Two basic difficulties have so far stood in the way of the pursuit

²⁰Memorandum from Martin Segger to Barbara McIntyre, March 3, 1975, (C.F.19).

of any of these studies, however. In the first place, the extent and sheer physical bulk of the collection, while at once exciting admiration, has also served to daunt the most enthusiastic researcher and, until a thorough catalogue and retrieval system can be established, this must continue to present a serious problem. In the second place, anyone who has been able to examine the plays carefully has soon come to realise how incomplete many of them (in particular the older ones) are, and to realise that there are no real antiquarian "finds" to be made among the dusty paper bags. Thus frustration and disappointment have led to neglect. It is to be hoped that this account of the origin and history of the collection has explained why it is what it is, but, having faced its limitations squarely, it may yet be possible to show that the Sage Collection can be of some real value to the University of Victoria.

CHAPTER II

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE JUVENILE DRAMA AND
THE LIVE THEATRE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In an article in The New Statesman, March 4, 1944,
Margaret Lane remarked of the Juvenile Drama...

It is curious that more has not been written
about it.

.....
... the cloak-and-sword melodrama of the early
nineteenth century was unconsciously embalmed,
being presented in miniature in a child's toy
long after its Gothic original had been for-
gotten. So, too, the early Victorian panto-
mime ... was accidentally suspended in this
medium, leaving us a contemporary record of
that strangely begotten, richly eccentric
entertainment.¹

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the value of
the Sage Collection as such a record: to examine to what
extent this collection can serve as a useful primary
resource in Nineteenth Century theatre research.

The present chapter is concerned with definitions,
with general problems related to the field of Juvenile
Drama as a whole, with assessments of the present state
of scholarship in the field, and with the significance of

¹ Lane, "The Juvenile Drama", article in The New States-
man, March 4, 1944.

the Sage Collection within the context of collections and library resources in Canada and the world at large. Chapter III deals with problems associated with the area of Juvenile Drama in which the Sage Collection is strongest: that is with the English publishers of the mid-Nineteenth Century, and in particular with the publisher, J.K.Green. Chapter IV is concerned wholly with a chronological play-by-play analysis of Green's work, and Chapter V concludes the thesis with a summary of the findings of Chapter IV together with some proposals for further research based upon those findings.

Definitions

The thesis is principally concerned with an examination of the relationship between English Juvenile Drama and the live theatre of early and mid-Nineteenth Century London.

By "Juvenile Drama" is meant those sets of sheets representing the characters and scenes of contemporary stage plays, together with the miniature playscripts, that were issued by numerous publishers during the Nineteenth Century for sale as children's toys. A description of the history of these sheets and an account

of the publishing processes involved have been given by George Speaight in The History of the English Toy Theatre (1969). Let it suffice to make a distinction here between the terms "Juvenile Drama" and "toy theatre" which can, if used interchangeably as they are by Speaight, lead to confusion. "Juvenile Drama" is used in this thesis generally to indicate the entire genre of the drama and specifically in reference to the sets of sheets and scripts of the plays; "toy theatre" is used only in reference to actual toy stages upon which the plays could be performed. Although publishers of the Juvenile Drama did issue prosceniums, drop curtains, orchestra strips, etc. and, in many cases they or their retail stationers did sell ready-made stages, these were not the essential features of the genre so much as accessories to it. In many instances the prosceniums, drop scenes, etc. were supposed to reproduce those features of specific London theatres of the time and may therefore prove to be useful to the theatre historian, but, since these items were not necessarily issued at the same time as the plays, they do not enter into a discussion about any one specific play or its live stage counterpart.

The basic unit of the Juvenile Drama is the play.

At the peak of the trade, around 1840, each play comprised the following:

- i) A number of sheets of characters illustrated in all the various costumes and poses necessary to a performance.
- ii) A number of sheets of scenes.
- iii) Sheets of wings appropriate to the scenes.²
- iv) A script, or the "book of words".

In addition to the above, there were often also:

- v) Sheets of set pieces (ground rows, properties etc.).
- vi) Sheets of tricks. These were designed to be cut out and either attached to the appropriate places on the scenes or used independently; and were features particularly of pantomimes.
- vii) A "panorama" or "diorama". These consisted of a series of scene sheets which were to be stuck together in a strip and drawn across the stage to represent some extended action or scene, such as Dick Turpin's ride to York in Rookwood.³

The longest Juvenile Drama play ever published was Green's Jack Sheppard (1839).⁴ This comprised a total of sixty-four separate sheets, but Jack Sheppard was exceptional

²In the case of West, wings were printed on the same sheets as the scenes.

³See below, p.150 for a discussion of this play.

⁴See below, p.122 for a discussion of this play.

and, although the number of sheets per play varied considerably, in the heyday of the trade, the average number was about twenty.

Sheets were sold both plain and coloured. The colourists were employed by the publishers and applied their colours as indicated on a proof sheet by the artist or publisher.⁵ The colours were limited to a number of basic vivid hues and can only have approximated to the real colours of the original costumes on the live stage. Furthermore, the colouring was inconsistent from sheet to sheet,⁶ and it is evident that coloured sheets, except in rare instances, are likely to be more misleading than helpful in any serious study of the Juvenile Drama as it reflected live stage practice; they are likely to be even more misleading where they have been coloured not by the professional colourist at all but by the purchaser. For these reasons, colour is not considered as a relevant factor in the present examination and, wherever possible,

⁵ For an illustration of this practice, see Wilson, Penny Plain Twopence Coloured, opposite p.42.

⁶ For comments on the colouring of pantomime sheets, see Mayer, Harlequin in His Element, p.368.

plain sheets have been used as illustrations in preference to coloured ones.

There are traditions of Juvenile Drama belonging not only to England but to countries on the mainland of Europe also: in particular to France, Germany and Denmark. Complete plays in these countries date back to the 1830s and sheets of characters were produced rather earlier: perhaps from the beginning of the century.⁷ The relationship between these sheets and the contemporary European theatre is clearer than that in England and has been illustrated by Georg Garde in Theatergeschichte im Spiegel der Kindertheater (1971) but, although it is possible that this European tradition may have influenced the growth of the English one, no direct evidence for this has yet been produced and the two traditions can at present only be studied as independent phenomena. The European Juvenile Drama, therefore, has been omitted from this discussion.

English Juvenile Drama can be said to have begun with the publication of West's sheets of characters from

⁷ Speaight, The History of the English Toy Theatre, pp.13-14.

Mother Goose (Fig.1) in 1811,⁸ although the genre did not find its fully developed form until a few years later. An unbroken line of active publishers can be traced from West right through to Benjamin Pollock who died in 1937, but the heyday of the Juvenile Drama was in the first half of the Nineteenth Century and, although the trade spanned more than a hundred years, it is only in that early period of its life that a case can be made for finding a direct relationship between the Juvenile Drama and the live stage. The reason for this limitation lies in the kind of plays chosen and in the general style in which they were rendered. Speaight writes:

The toy theatre was a very conservative theatre, and it refused to move with the times; it was born in an age of melodrama and pantomime, of painted flats and side wings, and it would have nothing to do with any modern movements on the stage; such new plays as were published after 1850 all belonged in spirit to the previous century.⁹

The box sets of Madame Vestris or the "cup and saucer" comedies of the Bancrofts and Tom Robertson were simply

⁸ There still remains some mystery as to the actual date of the invention of the English Juvenile Drama. See Speaight, op.cit., p.34 et.seq.

⁹ Speaight, op.cit., p.51.

not transferable to the Juvenile Drama, and it is unlikely, even if they were, that their juvenile patrons would have been very enthusiastic about them. Robert Louis Stevenson in his famous essay "A Penny Plain, Twopence Coloured" (1884) recalled his boyish delight in "Skeltery", the art of the publisher Skelt:

The stagey is its generic name; but it is an old, insular, home-bred staginess; not French, domestically British; not of today, but smacking of O. Smith, Fitzball, and the great age of melodrama...¹⁰

After 1850 it was "the stagey" that the live theatre was seeking to avoid, falling deeper and deeper into the toils of realistic illusionism, and so the publishers of Juvenile Drama, anxious to satisfy the conservative tastes of their young customers who, in their innocence, still preferred the "stagey" plays of the past, resorted more and more to re-issuing old titles either newly engraved or printed from the old plates of their predecessors. The plays of the Juvenile Drama, therefore, whether published early or late, can only be related to the live theatre of the early part of the century.

¹⁰ Stevenson, "A Penny Plain and Twopence Coloured", reprinted in Memories and Portraits, pp.221-222.

Finally, this thesis is only concerned with the London stage, of that period. Provincial English productions at that time always followed the London stage in subject matter and style, in any case, but the Juvenile Drama publishers were entirely concentrated in London, and every one of their plays had been performed in one or more of the London theatres, whether patent houses or minors, shortly before their publication in the miniature form.¹¹

The Case for a Relationship

The very fact that every one of the Juvenile Drama plays had been performed on the live stage is indicative of the close relationship between the two forms. Furthermore, every one of the Juvenile Drama plays had been a success on the live stage. The connection is obvious: the Juvenile Drama trade was what might be called today a "spin-off" trade, capitalizing on a commercial success by reproducing the original in a different, more lasting form. The trade can be compared with the "spin-off" industries that have produced paperback versions of movie

¹¹ Speaight, op.cit., p.202, et.seq.

scripts, or toys in the likenesses of television puppets.

Credit for the invention of the Juvenile Drama is generally given to William West (1811-54), and in an interview between that publisher and Henry Mayhew, West is found recalling the moment of invention:

The first time I began to publish anything of the kind was when the pantomime of Mother Goose was performing. I was the first in the line... I was originally in the circulating library and haberdashery line... We had a glass case of toys as well, and among the toys we sold children's halfpenny lottery prints - common things that were done in those days, sir. Well, you see, my parents used to be at Covent Garden Theatre, and I took it in my head to have a print done of Mother Goose ...

.....
I brought out this print, you'll understand, to please the children. The lottery things was so bad, and sold so well, that the idea struck me that something theatrical would sell. And so it did - went like wildfire among the young folks.¹²

It is interesting and not perhaps surprising that it was Mother Goose that should have inaugurated this long-lived "spin-off" industry, for this was one of the most successful pantomimes ever produced.¹³ It was in this

¹²This interview was first printed in The Morning Chronicle, February 25, 1850. It is reprinted in full in "New Light on the Juvenile Drama," an article by Gerald Morice and George Speaight in Theatre Notebook, March 26, 1972, pp.115-21.

¹³Mayer, op.cit., p.16.

pantomime that the clown Grimaldi was first given full range for the display of his talents, and Grimaldi and his successors were soon popular figures on countless Juvenile Drama pantomime sheets.

A number of points should be understood about West's statements. In the first place, his Mother Goose sheets were by no means the first theatrical prints of any kind: individual Theatrical Portraits of actors and actresses had long been available in print shops,¹⁴ and West was undoubtedly familiar with these prints. It is significant, however, that West does not claim to have got his initial idea from seeing the Portraits or from seeing the European sheets mentioned above, but instead, he says that he began his theatrical prints merely as cheap children's toys, with no attempt at making likenesses: "The small ones wasn't likenesses - they was merely characters to give the costumes [sic]".¹⁵ However, West's business was very good and he soon began to employ better artists: by 1813 he was not only publishing better likenesses on his rapidly developing Juvenile Drama

¹⁴ Speaight, The History of the English Toy Theatre, p.11.

¹⁵ William West, as cited by Mayhew, The Morning Chronicle, loc.cit.

sheets but issuing individual Theatrical Portraits. By that year West was publishing not only character sheets but scene sheets and even stages for his Juvenile Drama: all that was necessary, in fact, for performance.¹⁶ Furthermore, his sheets were inscribed with the names of the theatres from which each production was taken and in many cases with the names of the actors and actresses playing the leading roles.

If "likeness" was not at first an issue, within a couple of years it certainly was. Speaight writes:

It is... as a record of the real theatre in a particular period of English dramatic history, that the toy theatre is treasured today. Its scenery was copied from the scenery in the actual London productions and thus preserves a whole corpus of stage design that has otherwise entirely vanished; the costumes of the actors, their theatrical poses, even their make-up, was faithfully transferred in miniature to the sheets of characters; the prosceniums of the theatres were reproduced in the model stage fronts.¹⁷

Before Speaight, Ralph Thomas, one of the first serious collectors of Juvenile Drama, had written:

¹⁶ See Morice and Speaight's summary of the Mayhew interview, Theatre Notebook, loc.cit.

¹⁷ Speaight, "The Toy Theatre", article in Harvard Library Bulletin, XIX, 3, July 1971, p.311.

From some of the original drawings I have it is evident that the artists went to the theatres and there made sketches of the scenery and costumes; so that West's prints are copied from the plays as they were got up at the time...¹⁸

Thomas' opinion has been accepted, though not proven by demonstration, by all later experts on the subject. If, however, the early sheets of Juvenile Drama are to be regarded as valuable illustrations of the contemporary theatre, as Speaight suggests, it is clearly desirable to examine carefully the evidence that artists did actually attend performances and did copy faithfully what they saw there.

West himself speaks in the Mayhew interview as though he were satisfied that his Theatrical Portraits were good likenesses, but he is rather vague on the question of the Juvenile Drama sheets, just how faithful were they? The publisher does speak of getting permission from the master carpenter to go and make a drawing of the proscenium at Drury Lane when that theatre was rebuilt in 1812, and he mentions how Mr. Astley recommended a young artist to him who plainly drew his characters from the

¹⁸Ralph Thomas, "West's Toy-Theatre Prints", letter in Notes and Queries, 4th Series, Vol. XII, December 13, 1873, p.463.

life at Astley's Amphitheatre;¹⁹ but West's remarks are inconclusive, and, of course relate mainly to his own practice.²⁰ However, these remarks do nothing to contradict the view put forward by Thomas and Speaight that it was indeed the publisher's custom to employ artists to attend performances and sketch characters and scenes from the life, and from the few artists' sketches that have been published it would seem that these sketches were then faithfully reproduced by the engraver.²¹

Though the first, West was by no means the only publisher of high quality Juvenile Drama. Perhaps his most impressive competitors were Hodgson and Co.(1822-30) and from this company comes evidence of a more tangible kind, for in 1822 they published an instructional sheet

¹⁹With the acute awareness of a showman for good publicity, it was one of the theatre proprietors, none other than Astley himself, who was partly responsible for helping the Juvenile Drama trade to improve its standards. Managers and performers probably continued to encourage the trade as much as possible. West also mentions, for example, a business arrangement that he had with Ducrow.

²⁰West does mention in the interview how the Astley's artist also did work for Jameson.

²¹See such sketches as are reproduced in Wilson, Penny Plain Twopence Coloured, opposite p.37, and following p.42.

with characters demonstrating "The way to sketch your Figures before going to the Theatre" and "How to Dress your Figures at the Theatre".²² Plainly, artists (at least, Hodgson's artists) did attend performances, but the very existence of this sheet puts a limitation on the degree of verisimilitude that can be expected, since the artists were instructed to draw their basic figures before going to the theatre. Thus the physique and posture of the characters was determined before the artists saw them live on stage. Many of the actors would have been well known to the artists, in any case, and posture on the early Nineteenth Century stage was very much a matter of convention, but the following questions arise: to what extent was the Juvenile version prepared in advance of the artist seeing the play (i.e. was the script already adapted) and had the particular postures required for each scene been predetermined? If so much had been prepared in advance, all that a visit to the theatre could supply would have been details of costume and scenery: enough in themselves to be valuable to the theatre historian, but not quite as much as might have

²² Reproduced in Speaight, The History of the English Toy Theatre, p.119.

been hoped for.

It is not possible to arrive at firm conclusions from this evidence. Clearly artists did attend the theatres but, although it was desirable to achieve faithful likenesses of the productions for the sake of prestige and general appeal, it was also desirable to produce the sheets swiftly, economically and, if possible, in advance of competition: these publishers were not posterity-conscious theatre-lovers but businessmen.

Another argument against the fidelity of these sheets is a very basic one: that is that the Juvenile Drama was a two-dimensional representation of a three-dimensional reality. This does not have any serious implications for scenery or costumes but it does mean that the Juvenile Drama cannot provide any very accurate reproductions of special effects such as pantomime tricks.²³ However, it must be admitted that for a two-dimensional form the Juvenile Drama, when operational, manages to create much more of a three-dimensional illusion than any of the related theatrical prints, portraits, or even

²³ See Mayer, Harlequin in His Element, p.367.

photographs, that have, over the years, attempted to fulfil the same function, for the Juvenile Drama was designed to move: it had a life of its own and, with that in mind, the artists gave to their tiny characters a vigour and air of theatricality appropriate to that life. Thus, although some of the details may be over simplified, the overall effect of the Juvenile Drama is to recreate the early Nineteenth Century stage in a much more vital way than any other contemporary material. It is along these lines that most experts have always argued, and there is no reason to disagree with their general conclusion. This conclusion is a vague one, however: it ignores the fact that actual performances of the Juvenile Drama today are very rare treats,²⁴ that most scholars have to deal not with the living toy but with uncut, carefully preserved sheets in museums, and that these sheets do not differ radically in terms of vitality from any other kind of theatrical print.

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The only regular performances that have come to the attention of the present writer are those given annually at Christmas by George Speaight at the London Museum, London, England.

Present State of Scholarship

It is evident that, while the degree of fidelity in the drawings remains untested, it is extremely difficult to use the Juvenile Drama as reliable evidence for the conditions and conventions of the contemporary stage. It is more difficult, even, than with many other kinds of prints since the whole purpose of the sheets is confused by the children's toy factor. Without external evidence, such as the assertions of the publishers (which would be suspect in any case), it may yet be possible, however, to come to more certain conclusions about fidelity by studying the internal evidence of the sheets (the details of costume and scenery in particular) and by comparing these with alternative contemporary material: playbills, newspaper reports and other prints. Indeed, there are some published works in which the very beginnings of this kind of study can already be discerned. These works fall into two categories: those concerned

with Juvenile Drama itself, with tracing its origins and the history of its artists and publishers, and those that make use of Juvenile Drama incidentally in illustrating other subjects.

In the first category there are only two full-length published works in English: A.E.Wilson's Penny Plain, Twopence Coloured (1932), and George Speaight's The History of the English Toy Theatre (revised edition 1969). Speaight's work updates Wilson's in a number of ways and provides in addition extremely valuable appendices detailing the entire canon of known English Juvenile Drama plays and publishers. However, although both of these authors comment on the relationship between Juvenile Drama and the live theatre, neither actually presents any direct evidence for the closeness of the link other than that which has already been discussed and, although both works are profusely illustrated, virtually all of their illustrations are of the Juvenile Drama itself and no comparison is made with other live theatre sources.

A number of articles have appeared, however, in the periodical Theatre Notebook that have attempted to

make up this deficiency. The most notable of these have been by Sybil Rosenfeld ("A Sadler's Wells Scene Book") and by Martin Holmes ("A Whichelo Drawing and its Derivative" and "A Regency Cleopatra"). Ms. Rosenfeld, in examining an album of scene designs from Sadler's Wells Theatre, finds two designs which can be compared with their Juvenile Drama counterparts, and remarks: "It has always been a moot question as to how nearly the juvenile theatre sheets reproduce the actual scenery used in the production."²⁵ In both cases she finds that the scenes are very similar, with only minor alterations made necessary by the exigencies of the miniature stage, and goes on to say:

If, as seems likely, the original scenery is so closely followed in other juvenile theatre sheets, we have in them a pretty accurate record of scenery used in the theatres. Their value to the theatre historian is thereby considerably enhanced.²⁶

Martin Holmes does not have the original stage scene to study in "A Whichelo Drawing and its Derivative," but he believes it to be the missing link between a drawing of

²⁵ Rosenfeld, "A Sadler's Wells Scene Book," Theatre Notebook, XV, 2, Winter 1960-61, p.58.

²⁶ Ibid., p.59.

the exterior of the House of Lords, made in 1809 by C.J.M.Whichelo, and a scene of the same in Webb's Juvenile Drama version of Guy Fawkes, published in 1854. Certainly the Whichelo drawing and the Webb scene are very similar in many respects but the argument for even an indirect connection seems rather tenuous: the stage play was produced first in 1822 so that a period of thirty-two years elapsed between that and the Webb publication and, although Holmes' view is tenable that "... the drawing seems likely to have provided the original scheme for the backcloth..."²⁷ of that stage play, without the backcloth the fidelity of the Webb scene to that backcloth cannot be proven. Rather more interesting and useful is Holmes' study of the costumes on Jameson's "souvenir sheets"²⁸ of the Covent Garden production of Antony and Cleopatra, published in 1813. In "A Regency Cleopatra," Holmes makes a comparison between those sheets and a playbill of the production in which he notes the special allusions made to the new

²⁷ Holmes, "A Whichelo Drawing and its Derivative," Theatre Notebook, XVII, 1, Autumn 1962, p.17.

²⁸ Jameson did not publish scenes. See Speaight, op.cit., p.40.

scenery and Egyptian dresses, and he remarks:

Looking at the plates themselves... we find an unexpected consistency in the dresses. Egypt is not represented merely by a vague Orientalism, as heretofore, but by a convention of diagonal stripes, and head-dresses with pendant lappets.²⁹

Thus, supported by the playbill and by other contemporary accounts Holmes has used the Juvenile Drama as evidence for the growing interest in authentic historical costuming: an interest that was to reach its peak on the London stage some forty years later with the productions of Charles Kean. Holmes has made the first step in what could be an extremely revealing study of how the Juvenile Drama, spanning as it does precisely the relevant period, reflected this trend in stage costume.

These few scraps are all that has been published so far in the form of conscious, direct study of the Juvenile Drama and the English stage. There is, however, a work that has made a more comprehensive effort along these lines in respect of the continental European theatre, and that is Georg Garde's Theatergeschichte im Spiegel

29

Holmes, "A Regency Cleopatra," Theatre Notebook, VIII, 2, January-March, 1954, p.46.

der Kindertheater ("The Theatre as Reflected in the Toy Theatre", 1971), written in German with an English summary. By comparing scenes from the live theatre with the Juvenile Drama of Europe and attempting to show how the Juvenile Drama reflected changing tastes and styles in the theatres of Europe, Garde sets a pattern which the English historians might do well to emulate. The problem with Garde, however, apart from the fact that he does not deal with the English theatre, is that he attempts to cover such a wide historical perspective (from alleged origins in religious drama to the end of the Nineteenth Century) that he is not able to enter into any really detailed examination of the minutiae of the sheets. Clearly a work along the lines of Garde's, if it is to serve as an authoritative and scholarly primer in the field, must contain itself within closely defined limits, restricting itself to one or two areas of interest only, otherwise it would end by becoming merely a generalized history of the Nineteenth Century London stage.

It is in books about limited aspects of this history, indeed, that the Juvenile Drama is occasionally put to some good use: that is, as illustrations supportive

to theatre scholarship; but in these cases there is a tendency for authors, relying too much on the assertions of Speaight and others, to take the relationship between the Juvenile Drama and their subjects for granted without attempting to prove the fidelity of their illustrations. In the case of Richard Southern's Changeable Scenery (1951), for example, Pollock's sheets of wings: "To Suit Any Play", are taken as evidence to support the argument that Nineteenth Century theatres kept wings as "separate stock adjuncts"³⁰ that were not necessarily designed solely to suit specific pieces. Whatever the merits of this argument in itself, Southern should have pointed out, as he did not, that (i) Pollock was a late publisher, not to be relied upon without a full examination of the sources of his plays, and (ii) that West, who was much closer in time to the original productions of the plays under discussion, did actually print wings on the same sheets as his scenes and in most cases these are adapted to each other, so that they provide no evidence of "stock adjuncts" at all.

³⁰ Southern, Changeable Scenery, p.351.

A similar case of using late publishers and ignoring their more reliable predecessors can be found in Michael Booth's English Melodrama (1966). The use of Juvenile Drama material can be revealing when limited in this way to a single area of interest but, although Booth traces back the history of melodrama to long before 1800, he only uses prints by late and relatively unreliable publishers and makes no comment on the degree of their fidelity. This is not to be understood as a criticism, necessarily, of these books since they are largely intended as popular works (and Booth certainly does succeed in conveying the "feel" of melodrama by using these prints) but as an indication of the way in which Juvenile Drama has been used so far.

That the Juvenile Drama can be rather more useful than this has been proven in one case at least: that is in David Mayer's Harlequin in His Element (1969). Mayer has confined himself to a limited period in the history of the English pantomime: 1806-1836, studying the subject in depth with special attention to the way in

which pantomime reflected contemporary English society. The period of Mayer's study exactly coincides, of course, with the early period of Juvenile Drama and, in fact, begins with that particularly significant piece, Mother Goose. Mayer is clearly aware of the usefulness of Juvenile Drama as a source of illustrations but he is also aware of its dangers and inadequacies in respect of pantomime. In a note on his sources Mayer remarks:

The toy theatre scripts... are not sufficiently reliable to have been consulted. They do not follow the original sequence of scenes of the full-scale pantomime, and many scenes are abbreviated or missing.³¹

but he continues...

However, the illustrations of trickwork are useful for identifying the topics that arrangers introduced to the pantomimes for satirical jibes. The settings that do not call for trickwork are likely to be accurate reproductions of full-scale scenes.

Of considerable use are the ... [character sheets] ... that illustrate actors costumed for their roles. These sheets reproduce with considerable fidelity the cut and appearance of the costumes worn.³²

This is not an idle claim, for Mayer does, at least in

³¹ Mayer, op.cit., p.367.

³² Ibid., pp.367-68.

one case, prove his point. In his chapter, "War and Empire", Mayer uses as illustrations no fewer than three different prints of the same famous burlesque by Grimaldi of the costume of an hussar in the pantomime Harlequin and the Red Dwarf (1812).³³ The prints are by W.Heath, West, and George Cruikshank, all contemporaries.³⁴ Mayer also cites a review of the production from the London Times.³⁵ The West print is in complete accord with all the principal details revealed by the other three sources, and thus, although it was not Mayer's purpose to prove the fidelity of this print in particular, the comparison that he makes possible does actually have that effect, and naturally reflects favourably on all the other West prints that appear in the book.

There have been, then, a number of attempts to use Juvenile Drama material in constructive, scholarly ways; and that they have not all been totally successful

³³ Ibid., pp.283-85.

³⁴ Both Heath and Cruikshank are said to have worked for Juvenile Drama publishers from time to time, although neither of their prints in this case appears to belong to that genre.

³⁵ Mayer, op.cit., pp.279-80.

is due partly to the shortage of supporting evidence and partly to the fact that no one has as yet tackled the problem in a systematic way. It would seem from these examples that the basic fields that are open for future study should be defined as either (i) how the Juvenile Drama reflects changing tastes in subject matter, scene design or costume design on the live stage during particular periods, or (ii) how any one publisher, for example West, reflects in his prints the live theatre as a whole over a limited period of time. Neither kind of study should be undertaken, however, without the fidelity of the prints being proven in critical areas by comparison with other source materials. The cut-off date for all studies of this kind would seem to be around 1850. The problems involved after this date have already been indicated; some additional problems concerning the later publishers will be discussed in Chapter III.

Requirements for Research

So far the Juvenile Drama has been discussed largely as it reflected trends on the London stage in general. However, the early Juvenile Drama sheets at least, were produced in response to the successes of

specific plays in specific productions in specific theatres. Clearly, therefore, as part of the business of establishing the fidelity of the sheets, the specific productions upon which they were supposedly based have to be firmly identified. This is made relatively simple where a publisher like West identified the production himself on his sheets (although even here the publisher's claim must be checked against alternative sources) or where there was only one production of the play at that given time; but the question is made more complicated (i) where the production was not identified by the publisher, and (ii) where there was more than one production of the play running in London at the time.

In spite of these complications, however, the identification of the original live productions must plainly precede the kind of studies suggested above, and it is in the course of this identification that the fidelity of the sheets will hopefully be proven or disproven. The research requirements necessary for the identification of productions would seem to be as follows:

- 1) Access to complete sets of the relevant Juvenile Drama plays, preferably uncut

and uncoloured.

- ii) Access to a complete day by day calendar of all London theatre productions of the relevant period.³⁶
- iii) Access to all available playbills, newspaper reports, prints and other contemporary materials related to those productions.
- iv) Access to more complete information than is at present available on the lives and methods of the Juvenile Drama publishers.

There is one further requirement that should be considered. Let it be supposed that it is discovered that sheets were not in all cases based upon what the artists saw at the theatre at all: where, in that case, did the artists get their ideas from? Perhaps from other visual sources: book illustrations, for example. To allow for this possibility it would seem advisable to add to the above requirements:

- v) Access to all available contemporary visual material related to the subject matter of the plays, to their scenes and costumes.

Plainly, extensive library resources are necessary to meet all these requirements, and only in London, if anywhere, can an adequate concentration of

³⁶This is not available in any adequate form anywhere at present but it is to be hoped that The London Stage, 1800-1900, which is now in preparation, will eventually meet this requirement.

both Juvenile Drama material and playbills, prints, etc. be expected. Even in London, however, there are problems associated with the Juvenile Drama collections for, as Speaight has pointed out,³⁷ there is not, as yet, a union catalogue available for these collections; and, if this is a problem in London, it is a far greater problem to anyone studying the subject in Canada. Why then study the subject at all in Canada?

Resources in Canada

When Speaight revised The History of the English Toy Theatre in 1969, he included in his appendices a list of public collections.³⁸ As might be expected, the majority of these were in the United Kingdom, the principal ones being at the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum and the London Museum; but there were also a number of collections in the United States, most notably at the Harvard College Library. This latter is an important collection containing a number of unique early sheets: Speaight describes it in more detail in his article "The Toy Theatre" in the Harvard Library Bulletin,

³⁷ Speaight, The History of the English Toy Theatre, p.174.

³⁸ Ibid., p.218.

July 1971. In that article, the author makes reference to "another very good collection [which] has recently been acquired by the University of Toronto".³⁹ It is this Canadian collection, which Speaight has classed among the "five major public collections",⁴⁰ that provides a justification for serious interest being taken in the Juvenile Drama in this country.

There are, in fact, four public collections of Juvenile Drama in Canada. They are contained within the following:

- i) The Rosalynde Stearn Puppet Collection, Special Collection IV at McGill University Library.
- ii) The Rare Books Collection at the Scott Library, York University.
- iii) The Seaton-Reid Collection of Juvenile Drama at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.
- iv) The Sage Collection of Juvenile Drama, at the Maltwood Museum, University of Victoria.

The collection at McGill is certainly the least important of these four: it consists of only a handful of complete plays, all Twentieth Century reprints, three of

³⁹Speaight, "The Toy Theatre", article in Harvard Library Bulletin, XIX, 3, July 1971, p.312.

⁴⁰Ibid., p.313.

Pollock's toy theatres, a small number of miscellaneous character sheets, scenes, trick sheets, and Portraits, but there is nothing of any great age or significance. The most significant thing about this collection, indeed, is that it has been thought worthy of inclusion in a library special collection and has been carefully catalogued.⁴¹

The York collection is far more substantial, but this contains no examples of mainstream Nineteenth Century English Juvenile Drama. It is not a collection built up by an individual, but consists of the entire diverse catalogue of Puppets, Juvenile Drama and Shadow Plays, sold as an entity by Motley Books Ltd., of London, in December, 1968. The most interesting aspect of this collection is the variety of derivative material it contains: books and children's toys that follow in the tradition of the earlier publishers. The collection also contains a number of late-Nineteenth Century European Juvenile Drama plays. There is no catalogue other than that issued by Motley Books,⁴² but it would appear that

⁴¹McGill University Library catalogue. Special Collection IV, The Rosalynde Stearn Puppet Collection, Montreal, 1961.

⁴²Motley Books Ltd., Catalogue 19, 1968/69.

this collection complements, with virtually no duplication, the other more important collection held in Toronto.

The collection at the University of Toronto was built by Mr. Desmond Seaton-Reid and sold to Toronto when that gentleman retired. Seaton-Reid is an expert on the publications of William West, and West sheets make up the most important feature of his collection. When he did not possess an original of the sheet itself, it was Seaton-Reid's habit to acquire a photograph from another collection so that, with original sheets and photographs together, this is perhaps the most comprehensive collection of its kind of West's sheets in existence. The collection is also rich in many other early English publishers' work as well as in many of the later ones; there are also examples of toy theatres and of the works of European publishers. The collection is housed in boxes and folders and is catalogued both by publisher and by play title,⁴³ although no attempt has been made

⁴³ Manuscript copies of catalogues are on file with The Sage Collection at the Maltwood Museum. The University of Toronto collection contains a small number of sheets that had been originally part of Mr. Sage's collection: these were given to Mr. Seaton-Reid by Mr. Sage's widow. The only sheets that can be identified with certainty are from Green's Life of a Soldier, and photocopies of these have been used to fill the appropriate gaps in The Sage Collection.

as yet to give the individual plays accession numbers. In some instances there are cut-out characters mounted for use but, on the whole, as with most collections of this size and value, the sheets are stored for research purposes rather than for performance. It is a matter of regret that Toronto does not appear to possess, as yet, equal resources in playbills and other contemporary prints to enable full use to be made of the collection in its proper context of theatre research.

A history of The Sage Collection in Victoria has been outlined in Chapter I, and a detailed description of the Collection is given in Appendix A, below. There are two major points to be made in distinguishing it from the other collections in Canada:

- i) It is the only large collection built for performance rather than for research.
- ii) It is lacking all very early publishers such as West (its earliest play, Green's Douglas, is dated 1834) but thereafter it provides extremely good coverage of the major later publishers. Eleven English publishers, and about one hundred different titles are represented in all. There are, in addition, about twenty different European titles and a number of derivative items related to the subject.

The Use of The Sage Collection as a Source
of Research Material

Lacking, as it does, the early publishers' work, The Sage Collection can be of no value in the examination of the fundamental issues of fidelity relating to the early days of the Juvenile Drama. Even if the appropriate sheets existed in Victoria, the lack of other contemporary material would still make such an examination impossible here, as it may yet be in Toronto. Admitting this fact, the University of Victoria has three options open to it:

- 1) Attempt to expand the scope of the Collection acquiring early sheets so that research may be possible in the future. But, apart from the extreme difficulty of acquiring early sheets, this is hardly a sensible approach since the effect would be merely to duplicate the collection at the University of Toronto.
- ii) Put The Sage Collection into storage until such time as work on early sheets has been completed elsewhere when the later sheets in Victoria can then be examined against a firm background of prior research. This would be a sensible approach, except for the fact that there is no indication that anyone is actually preparing to undertake this research elsewhere.
- iii) Make as much use of the Collection as possible in spite of the limited resources available in Victoria.

It is this last option that should be followed irrespective of the inadequacies of the Collection. It should be

remembered that the Collection is primarily designed for performance and it can also provide an attractive museum display: even if it does not ultimately yield much in terms of scholarly rewards, it is all that Victoria possesses in the way of primary visual documentation of the Nineteenth Century theatre, and any way in which The Sage Collection can be used to excite interest in this area or assist in the teaching of the subject should not be ignored.

The greatest strength of the Collection lies in the publishers of the mid-Nineteenth Century, and it is to an examination of these, in particular J.K.Green, that the remainder of this thesis is devoted. Is it possible to study those publishers represented in The Sage Collection in the same manner as their predecessors?

CHAPTER III

J.K. GREEN AND THE LATER PUBLISHERS

It is a little difficult to say how far these later plays are based on actual, contemporary stage productions; a handful of plays had established themselves as toy theatre favourites, and these were issued in version after version by rival publishers.... But Green, Skelt, and their contemporaries issued a large number of original toy theatre plays, that were inspired by current stage successes; can we rely on these sheets to reproduce the theatre of the 'forties and 'fifties in the same way that West and Hodgson have preserved the theatre of the 'twenties?¹

Piracy

One of the pitfalls that besets examination of nearly all publishers of the Juvenile Drama, with the exception of the very earliest, is the problem of piracy. George Speaight, in The History of the English Toy Theatre, has explained how numerous plays were not drawn directly from live performances at all but were copied from other publishers' editions of those plays. Putting himself in the position of a new publisher, Speaight outlines the alternative courses open to him:

¹Speaight, The History of the English Toy Theatre, p.50.

Shall we issue a new play that has never been done before, or shall we reissue a play that has already proved popular? If we want to play safe, we should take the second course. And even now we have three alternatives. We can have a new version of a favourite play specially drawn; we can copy some other publisher's version; or, simplest of all, we can buy the engraved plates from a publisher who is going out of business, substitute our own names, and publish the play like that.²

Speaight continues: "All these methods were frequently used" and, in the appendices in his book, he notes such cases of copying or buying-up of plates that have come to his attention.

The piracy of other publishers' plates was an infringement of copyright, and the guilty publisher would undoubtedly endeavour to conceal the crime in some way: by altering the plates or by engraving them with a false date. Clearly, pirated copies of plays cannot be regarded as reliable evidence in the present examination, but the identification of pirated copies is a complicated procedure requiring a comparison to be made between all known editions of the play, artists' sketches and so forth, and, even after this, firm conclusions may not be possible. Speaight has only demonstrated this procedure once, in

²Ibid., p.52.

order to reveal Green's piracy of West's The Secret Mine, although he has identified one or two other cases without publishing his proof,³ and while sets of plays remain scattered and incomplete, while a union catalogue is not available, and while artists' sketches and the like are scarce, a systematic and minute check on all likely piracies is evidently impossible. All of this must place a considerable limitation on the extent of any examination of the Juvenile Drama, for the only edition of the play that can escape the suspicion of piracy must necessarily be one that is self-evidently a first edition: in Speaight's words, "a new play that has never been done before."

The identification of the first edition of any play depends largely on whether or not dates are printed on all of the competing editions and whether those dates can be trusted. Speaight has nevertheless made an attempt, based mainly on the listings of M.W.Stone and D.Seaton-Reid,⁴

³See in particular, references to Green's Douglas, The Waterman, Aladdin and Timour the Tartar in Chapter IV, below.

⁴These listings are based partly on the dates given on some sheets and partly on stylistic evidence. A manuscript of Stone and Seaton-Reid's list exists in the University of Toronto Collection.

to give the approximate chronological order of all editions of all plays in the canon of English Juvenile Drama; and, on the basis of this list, it is possible to compile a table (Table 1) illustrating the number of entirely new plays for which each of the major publishers was responsible: that is, the plays which they could not possibly have copied from someone else since no one else had previously issued them. It is unfortunate that the table cannot take into account the many cases where publishers issued entirely independent editions of the same play at about the same time as each other, or made new editions taken directly from later stage revivals but, without the other earlier or contemporary editions to compare these with, it is difficult to see how such cases can be identified with certainty.

From the table it can be seen how, after the initial boom in the trade in the 1820s, the number of new plays issued began to decline quite rapidly; and this is hardly surprising since, not only did the conservative taste of the juvenile customers encourage publishers to copy old plays, but the potential source of plunder had been increasing year by year. The most significant thing

TABLE I

NEW PLAYS ISSUED BY MAJOR PUBLISHERS, 1811-1937⁵

Publisher	Period of active publishing	Number of entirely new plays	New plays as a percentage of publisher's total output
West	1811-54*	110	75%
Jameson	1811-27	47	61%
Hodgson & Co.	1822-30	31	44%
Green	1832-60	23	43%
Skelt	1835-72	19	33%
Webb	1844-90	10	43%
Redington	1850-76	6	21%
Pollock	1876-1937	0	0%

*All of West's plays were, in fact, published by 1831.

⁵This table does not show all publishers who issued new plays, but no others published more than four or five each. The data is based upon Speaight, op.cit., pp.202-17.

about the table, however, is not the rapid decline in the issue of new plays but the fact that in the middle decades of the century there was still a reasonably high percentage of new plays being issued at all, notably by Green, Skelt and Webb. These publishers constitute the major element in The Sage Collection, and so this fact is obviously of considerable importance in any assessment of the value of that collection.

Since Green was not only the earliest of these publishers and the most productive of entirely new plays, but was also intimately associated with the Juvenile Drama in its earliest days, it is Green on whom the thesis will now be concentrated. Although Green must be regarded principally as one of the later publishers, his history goes back to the very origins of the Juvenile Drama and there can be little doubt that he is by far the most interesting of the publishers represented in The Sage Collection. His early history, however, is not a particularly glorious one.

J.K.Green

The 1851 Census Papers provide the information that one John Kilby Green of 9 Thurlow Place, Walworth,

"historical engraver", was born in 1790 at Ayot St.Peter, Hertfordshire.⁶ The earliest record of his dealings in Juvenile Drama is provided by none other than William West in the interview with Henry Mayhew. Before the discovery of this interview, George Speaight had already shown that Green must have had some connection with West,⁷ and in the interview, when speaking of his very first plate of Mother Goose, West is found saying:

This plate was done by a 'prentice of the name of Green, who worked at Mr.Simkins', an engraver in Denmark-court. He used to do them in his overtime. He was obliged to have something to look at to copy. He was no draughtsman himself, you know. This here picture of Mother Goose he took from a large print of Mr.Simmonds in that there character published by Ackerman, and sold in Covent-garden at 2s.6d. plain, and 5s. coloured; the others was all copied from large prints of the day.⁸

Apart from justifying Speaight's speculation, what is most significant about this interview is West's comment on young Green's drawing ability and his need to copy other prints. The result can be judged by comparing

⁶Algar, note in Notes and Queries, Vol.194, November 26, p.522

⁷Speaight, op.cit., pp.35-39.

⁸West, reported by Mayhew in The Morning Chronicle, February 25, 1850; reprinted in Theatre Notebook, XXVI, 3, Spring, 1972, p.117.

the figure of Mother Goose in West's sheet (Fig.1) with the Ackerman print (Fig.2). If the Ackerman print is



Fig.1.

accepted as an accurate rendering of how Simmonds appeared on the stage, how much of the detail has Green retained? The costume has been preserved by Green in a general way although much of its decoration (the geese around the border of the dress, for example) has been lost. Lost,

too, are the fingerless mittens, the raised shoes and the padded bodice of the Ackerman version: all items that must have contributed to Simmonds' characterization. One interesting feature of Green's version is the fact that he has drawn Mother Goose's face in profile, accentuating the long nose and pointed chin. It is worth asking whether



2. A drawing of an agent, Samuel Simmons, as Mother Goose, in Harlequin and Mother Goose (1816).

Fig.2.

at this stage there was any idea in Green's or West's mind of children cutting out these characters, for this detail,

apart from being easier for Green to draw, gives the character a silhouette that is far more suitable for performance than a direct copy of Ackerman's would have been. Although these basic facial features are retained by Green, however, it must be admitted that he has lost all likeness of Simmonds and has, in fact, merely drawn the character and made no real attempt at a portrait at all.

Before too much scorn is poured on the young Green's fidelity to his models, however, the characters of Harlequin and Clown in the bottom right-hand corner of West's sheet should also be examined. These two characters are quite obviously also copied from a print by Ackerman (Fig.3), and the fidelity here is very much greater. The only perceptible difference between Ackerman's print and Green's copy (Fig.1) is in the angle and expression of Harlequin's face. The scene represented is one where Harlequin dresses as a woman to deceive the Clown (Grimaldi) with whom he then has a comic dance. If it were not that Green has placed his dancing figures in separate boxes, he would have provided here an extremely accurate copy of what must have been a favourite scene from the pantomime: right down to the detail of part of

the harlequin costume peeping from beneath the dancer's skirts.

and Mother Goose (1806)



Fig.3.

Before leaving Mother Goose, attention should be drawn to an illustration from Mander and Mitchenson's Pantomime (Fig.4). This is a detail from another of West's sheets. It is not clear from the Mayhew interview how many sheets of this pantomime West issued altogether, nor whether Green was responsible for drawing this other one, but the value of this illustration is that it demonstrates very clearly the operation of a trick: "The ascent and

descent of 'magic' chair and table at the touch of Harlequin's wand." Although there is no further information available about this sheet, it would seem, on the strength of the evidence for the fidelity of the first sheet, that at least the basic principles underlying the drawing of this other one can be trusted, and that the illustration can be accepted, therefore, as basically accurate.



Fig.4.

In the interview, West continues to talk about

Green:

Young Green only did me two plates. He was such a bad draughtsman he couldn't do anything without a copy, and I was forced to get permission of the better printsellers for all he did. I gave Green 30s. or £2 for each plate he did for me. He was very dear, 'cause he was so slow over the engravings.⁹

It is curious that West makes no further remarks about the apprentice, however, for in 1834, Green, now a publisher in his own right, was to make a controversial claim, printing on his playbooks the legend "The Original Inventor and Publisher of Juvenile Theatrical Prints, Established 1808".¹⁰ The interview with West did not take place until 1850 but, although his memory may have been failing, it still seems odd that, under the circumstances, he should not have made any further comment on Green. What is more, less than a year after Mother Goose, Green had been responsible for a number of character sheets that, although

⁹ Loc.cit.

¹⁰ A playbook bearing this legend exists in the Sage Collection. See below, The Forest of Bondy, p.181. The date, 1808, is not in accord with West's claim that he began publishing the Juvenile Drama in 1811. Mother Goose was in fact first performed in 1806 so that the date of the real invention of the genre is still open to dispute.

published under his own name,¹¹ were plainly pirated from West. Speaight has examined the question of these early Green sheets at length, particularly with regard to The Secret Mine, and makes a convincing case for Green's guilt, ending:

There are only two possible explanations... Green may have copied West's printed play, and predated his sheets to make them look like the first edition... or ... Green was able to see the engraved plate before the sheets were actually printed and published. In other words, Green was still employed round about West's printing place, and used his position to copy the proof engravings or take them away, and put out an edition of his own before West's was ready. In either case young Mr.Green appears to have been a bit of a rogue...¹²

It is indeed odd that West should not have inveighed against such sharp practice, unless Speaight's explanation

¹¹ They were actually published under the name of I.K.Green but, as Speaight has pointed out, "The eighteenth-century 'Latin' practice of not recognizing a capital 'J' in the English alphabet lingered on into the first decades of the nineteenth century" (The History of the English Toy Theatre, p.35). D.Seaton-Reid has suggested that I.K.Green was the father of J.K.Green (C.F.30), but the dates and facts that are known about J.K.Green's life do not appear to be contradictory in any way other than in the matter of his first initial, and it would not seem necessary to introduce another member of the family merely in order to explain this.

¹² Speaight, op.cit., p.38.

of the events is in some way incorrect. Perhaps the original idea for the Juvenile Drama had indeed been Green's, as he claimed, and West tacitly acknowledged this by turning a blind eye to the apprentice pirating his plays. Certainly, if Speaight's argument is accepted, it must be agreed that:

... Green shows that he was quite exceptionally sharp. And if he was capable of smart work of this kind, what regard can we place on his honesty at all, and can we believe him when he claims to have been the original publisher?¹³

On the basis of West's evidence, Green's claim does seem difficult to believe, but then it is obvious how Green might have justified himself for, although he did not publish the first sheet of Juvenile Drama, he did at least draw it.

Whatever the truth of the matter, two things seem clear: in the first place, Green appears to have been more of a businessman than a craftsman; and in the second place, there is no evidence that in his early days Green had any direct contact, as West did, with the live theatre. The relationship between Green's sheets and the productions

¹³
Loc.cit.

they were based upon seems to have been consistently second-hand: the sheets he drew for West were copied from other prints, and the sheets he published under his own name were copied from West.

The next stage in Green's career is something of a mystery, for, after pirating between 1811 and 1814 the handful of sheets mentioned above, he produced no further work for the Juvenile Drama for the remarkable period of eighteen years. This was the period when the Juvenile Drama publishers were producing their finest work and it seems strange that Green should have forfeited his place as a leading figure among them. Various theories have been suggested for Green's disappearance: that he was transported or imprisoned for infringement of copyright, or that he left to join the army, for example,¹⁴ although

¹⁴ Ibid., p.39.

the truth may well have been rather more mundane.¹⁵ If any conclusions at all are to be drawn from those blank years, it must be that they were not filled with theatre-going; for, if Green had continued to take an interest in the business, why did he not continue to capitalize on it? Perhaps the answer is simply that he realised he could not practice his piratic methods on a sufficiently wide scale and, being unequal on his own to the artistic standards set by his competitors, he decided to take up some other trade more suited to his abilities. Certainly, when Green finally returned to the trade in the 1830s, it would seem as though he were responding to marked changes

15

The 1851 Census Papers provide some information which, without a great deal of sophistry, could be made to support the idea that something singular did happen to Green during those mysterious years. This information relates to the relative ages of Green's family. In 1851, when Green was sixty-one years old, his wife, Susanna, was aged forty and his eldest child was twelve. It is quite possible, of course, that Susanna was not Green's first wife and other children may have died, but if these objections are put aside, it would seem that Green probably did not marry until about 1832: that is about the time of his return from obscurity, when he would have been already forty-two years old but his wife only twenty-one. This does nothing to explain what happened during those somewhat lengthy years of presumed bachelorhood, but at least the facts of the Census do nothing to contradict, but rather seem to confirm, the transportation or army theories.

in the economic and theatrical life of the time: it would seem possible that he only returned at all because he realised that the trade was changing (or could be made to change) in such a way as to suit his own particular talents and methods; for when Green re-appeared it was to publish a new kind of Juvenile Drama which, in its small way, was as appropriate to the dawning age of Victorian industrialization and mass production as West's elegant sheets had been to the Regency era.

It was in 1832 that Green is presumed to have returned, for in that year he published a number of Theatrical Portraits;¹⁶ in 1834 he began to publish Juvenile Drama again. Speaight writes:

His first two plays, issued in 1834, were in penny sheets, but after that he reduced the size of the sheets and published a steady stream of over fifty halfpenny plays during the next twenty-three years.¹⁷

Green published his plays from a number of addresses in and around Walworth, a suburb on the South Bank of the Thames, and he sold them through a variety of agents dispersed across the metropolis. The plays will be

¹⁶ Speaight, op.cit., p.48.

¹⁷ Loc.cit.

discussed individually in Chapter IV but, as might be expected of Green, they were not all originals: Speaight has identified at least four that were copies and only twenty-three were entirely new plays. Particular attention will be paid to these twenty-three in Chapter IV. There is some question as to whether Green was responsible for all the drawings himself: no other artist's hand can be identified with certainty and, although C.D. Williams has suggested that Cruikshank and Park may have drawn one or two sheets,¹⁸ it is generally accepted that Green did most of his own work. The question, of course, is not so much who drew the sheets as whether the drawings were faithful to the original stage productions and, since Green's return to the trade was marked by a change in the nature of that trade, the new conditions that brought this about must now be examined to see to what extent they affect the issue of fidelity. There are two basic points to be understood about the 1830s, in fact: one relating to the way in which the Juvenile Drama trade had been developing since its inception, and the other relating to the develop-

¹⁸ Williams, "A Note on Arthur Park", in Notes and Queries, Vol. 189, December 29, 1945, pp. 269-71.

ment of the live theatre during the same period.

Problems Relating to the Halfpenny Sheets

It would appear from the Mayhew interview that, in West's mind, the Juvenile Drama had been intended from the start as a child's toy. It may not, however, have been immediately designed with performance in mind and, although West was soon producing all the accessories necessary for performance, other publishers such as Jameson continued merely to produce character sheets intended more as souvenirs of productions than as practical toys. This souvenir element seems to have existed in West's sheets too, and performance of many of his plays must have been extremely difficult, especially since West did not produce books of words with all of them. When Hodgson & Co. opened their business in 1822, however, the emphasis was firmly placed on performance and each play was issued with its special book of words. Speaight writes: "By 1830 there is no doubt at all that the Juvenile Drama was designed solely as a pastime for the home."¹⁹ The price of the sheets had remained at one

¹⁹ Speaight, op.cit., p.46.

penny plain and twopence coloured but, by the time the plays were established as practical toys, this price was becoming rather prohibitive: some of the longer plays, complete with book, cost many shillings and, as Speaight remarks,

This was far more than the average boy could afford, and so there was every inducement for someone to put out a cheaper type of play in competition. After all, the boys didn't really care now whether their plays were accurate copies from the theatres...²⁰

And so Green saw his opportunity: he seems to have realised that by producing poorer drawings on poorer paper in smaller sheets, and by selling them for half the price he could considerably expand the trade.

It is not quite clear who first began to produce the new cheaper sheets, for both the Skelt family and the returning Green began at about the same time. The Skelt sheets are not dated, but Green's first halfpenny play was apparently his Douglas of 1834.²¹ It is the halfpenny format that is most familiar today and much of its

²⁰ Loc.cit.

²¹ If Speaight is correct and this was a copy of the publisher Dyer's version (The History of the English Toy Theatre, p.49), then Green was starting out in a very characteristic fashion.

popularity was due to the industry of the Skelts, immortalised by R.L.Stevenson;²² but as faithful reproductions of the live theatre these sheets are open to even more doubt than their penny predecessors.

The factors that have to be taken into account as militating against the fidelity of the halfpenny sheets would seem to be as follows:

- 1) A reduction in price can only be possible if costs too are cut. It seems unlikely that cheaper paper and smaller sheets would have been a sufficient compensation for a halving of price. The next economy measure likely to have been taken, therefore, would have been to dispense with a professional artist or at least to dispense with the time taken by the artist at the theatre. Hence, not only was accuracy endangered, but the possibility arises of the engraver taking drawings either directly from his own imagination or from some handy visual sources such as book illustrations.
- ii) Although sheets were cut in size, there was no reduction in the number of characters they were made to accommodate; and the attempt to squeeze the same number of characters onto smaller sheets must have affected both quality and consistency of drawing and also, to some extent, must have dictated the physical posture and gesture of the characters.²³

²²See above, p.20.

²³West's earliest characters were each framed in a separate box (See Fig.1), hence there was no necessity to adapt the characters' poses to fit them into a crowded sheet. Even when West abandoned the boxes, he always allowed plenty of room between his characters.

- iii) Another economy would have been to take advantage of the convention of stock scenes and wings: issuing the same scenes for a number of different plays. This was not dissimilar to the actual practice in the live theatre, but there is no reason to believe that the stock scenes used by the Juvenile Drama publishers were directly related to the stock scenes for the same plays on the live stage. Scenes that were published for use with a number of different plays, therefore, can be of no use in the present study except in relation to the first play for which they were issued.²⁴
- iv) Merely cutting costs, however, is unlikely to fully counterbalance a cut in price unless sales can be increased. With such a drastic cut in price, sales would have to be almost doubled to bring the halfpenny publishers the same kind of return, even on reduced costs, as when sheets cost one penny. Since Green was not the only publisher with this problem, it must be assumed that competition became quite fierce, and consequently the importance of issuing a play before anyone else must have become even greater than before. Thus, for the sake of swiftness, quality and accuracy are likely to have suffered.
- v) Finally there is Speaight's remark that "the boys didn't really care now whether their plays were accurate copies from the theatre".²⁵ Does he mean by this that boys were no longer going to the theatres? It is true that they were using the plays more as toys than as souvenirs, but they had been doing this before 1834 and, if

²⁴ Green's custom was to reprint previously published scenes with the names of the new plays added as necessary. The scenes can therefore be regarded as appropriate only to the earliest play mentioned on each sheet.

²⁵ Speaight, op.cit., p.46.

accuracy suffered as a result of the realisation of this, it seems unlikely that it would have suffered suddenly, merely on the introduction of the halfpenny sheets. Furthermore, Speaight comments later in his book how, in fact, the plays always remained extremely difficult to perform²⁶ and if the publishers were truly intent on making practical toys they would surely have made a better job of it. Would Green have bothered to issue sixty-four sheets of Jack Shepperd if he was more concerned with being practical than faithful? No, the truth seems to be that the boys still went to the theatre (they had more theatres to go to in the 1830s, too) and they were still anxious to have good copies of their favourite stage productions irrespective of staging difficulties. If there were many factors militating against fidelity they were not due to policy but to economics.

Problems Relating to the Multiplicity of Productions

Against all the negative economic factors, and in spite of the boys' demand, what hope is there that the halfpenny plays can really offer accurate illustrations of actual live productions? Oddly enough, even after his remark about the boys not caring about accuracy, Speaight comments that "Even when the plays were intended for no other purpose than to be cut up by children they still remained excellent reproductions of the contemporary

²⁶ Ibid., p.101, et.seq.

theatre".²⁷ Although he admits that the engraving style had a levelling effect on facial features and posture, Speaight sees "every sign of careful observation" in the costumes; and the scenery, "especially the topical London views in the pantomimes", he also claims, was "well copied from the actual backcloths in the theatre". Speaight does not, however, offer any proof of this, although he does identify two plays as being good copies of specific productions, again without publishing his evidence:

As late as 1860 Webb's Harlequin Jack and the Beanstalk was a splendid version of that year's Drury Lane pantomime, and his Miller and his Men was very well copied from the last production of this play in London at the Haymarket Theatre in 1861.²⁸

The only direct evidence that plays were still copied from the live stage can only come from the sheets themselves. Occasionally a publisher is found advertising on his sheets that a play is "as performed at such-and-such Theatre", but this informative practice, although it was quite normal in the days of West, was rather rare in the days of Green and Skelt, and the naming of actors and

²⁷ Ibid., p.51.

²⁸ Loc.cit.

actresses underneath their characters was even less common. Even when a publisher did continue the old practice of stating the name of the theatre, of course, this did not necessarily mean that the copy was faithful to that theatre's production, although it would seem to indicate that the publisher was making a claim to that effect. It is certainly disturbing that Green and his competitors did not often mention the name of a theatre on their sheets. Since there does not appear at first to be any logical reason why, if they had indeed copied a real production they should not wish to publicize the fact (the management of the theatre can hardly have objected), and since in some cases they did, in fact, do this, it is likely to be concluded that in the cases when they did not mention a theatre it was because they had not based their version on any one specific production.²⁹

There is, however, one possible explanation for why theatres were not always mentioned which involves an understanding of the new conditions that prevailed in London's theatre world of the 1830s. At the turn of the

²⁹ It might be asked why these publishers did not falsify a theatre if it was an important feature of their advertising. Perhaps this would have upset the management of the theatre.

century only two theatres in London were legally permitted to perform "legitimate" drama: Drury Lane and Covent Garden. These were not the only theatres in existence, of course. In 1811 there were about thirteen theatres of one kind and another in London and its environs,³⁰ but all but the two patent houses were required to limit their programmes to musical pieces and "burlettas". The Juvenile Drama grew up beneath the shadow of the two patent houses (West's premises were literally within a few hundred yards of the theatres) and many, though not all, of the first plays produced in the toy form were based upon patent house productions. By 1834, however, the number of theatres in London had doubled and, although the legal situation was still basically the same, the actual state of affairs was rather different.

For many years the "minor" theatres had been struggling to gain the right to perform legitimate drama and they had found many ways of circumnavigating the law, mainly by fogging the distinction between legitimate drama and burletta. In fact, although the law was not actually

³⁰This is an approximate figure based on information provided by Nicoll, A History of English Drama, IV, 221-33.

changed until 1843, thanks to lenient Lords Chamberlain, it was already virtually inoperative by the 1830s. A bill to make legal what was already a fact was brought before the Commons by Lord Lytton and passed by that House in 1832 and, although it was later defeated by the House of Lords, the partial success of this bill illustrates the mounting pressure for a free stage in London at the time.³¹ The doubling of the number of theatres, between 1811 and 1834, therefore, apart from being a natural result of the rapidly growing population of the city, was an indication of the growing security the managements felt in flouting the law. Legitimate drama was coming to the suburbs, and it was in the suburbs that Green set up his business.

The theatres of the 1830s did not show the same respect for one another's successes as they do today. This was largely due to the difficulty of enforcing copyright laws, and if a play was a success in one theatre, it soon began to appear, thinly disguised, in other houses all over London. The significance of this is that, when Green wished to issue a new play, he may have had as many

³¹Ibid., pp.4-6. See also Nicholson, The Struggle for a Free Stage in London, Chapter XIV; and Reynolds, Early Victorian Drama, pp.26-29.

as half-a-dozen productions of that play to choose from, none of them substantially different from a "legitimate" production in a patent house.

In the past a play's popularity had been virtually indistinguishable from the popularity of the actor or actress who played the leading role: it was the actor who had the following, not the play. With the spread of drama to the suburbs, however, and the multiplication of productions, although audience loyalty to a theatre may still have remained strong, the emphasis began to shift from the actor to the play. Very often the play was a dramatisation of a popular novel (Scott's were particularly successful in this way, and many were reproduced in the Juvenile Drama)³² and again audiences would be attracted by the title rather than by the performer. Taking this shift of emphasis into account, it seems possible that, except in cases where there was something very special about a production on which he wished to capitalize, it may have been in Green's interest not to identify the theatre. If a play appeared to be a success in a number

³²

See Speaight, op.cit., p.203; and Reynolds, op.cit., pp.138-45.

of different theatres, irrespective of production or performers, Green may have felt that he was limiting the appeal of his own version by identifying only one specific production on his sheets. Audience loyalty may also have had something to do with this: a patron of the Victoria and a patron of the Queen's may have quite happily bought a play, each thinking it was based on his own favourite theatre's production, but neither might have been so eager if Green had proudly announced on his sheets "as performed at the Britannia".

This explanation, although it encourages the hope that even when he did not mention a theatre by name Green may still have used one specific production for his model, leads to the final perplexing problem: even if Green did use a specific production, and even if his drawings were accurate, how can that specific production be identified? This problem will dominate the play-by-play analysis of Green's work in Chapter IV. There is one guiding point that should be mentioned here, however. Of all the minor theatres in London, those closest to Green's home may be expected to have exerted the greatest influence on him; he is more likely to have seen their playbills,

more likely to have seen their productions, may even have known the managements, and was in a good position to tell which of their plays were appealing to local children. The relevant theatres were the Victoria, the Surrey and Astley's Amphitheatre and so these three South Bank theatres will receive primary consideration in the examination of the plays.

Green's Descendants

Green died in 1860. There are two stories, one that he drank himself to death, and the other that he "grieved over the death of his wife whom he did not long survive".³³ He would have been seventy years old; perhaps he merely died of old age. The story does not end here, however. When Green died, his stock of plates was bought up by one of his agents, Redington; and, although he changed the name on the head of the sheets, Redington continued to issue many of Green's plays from the same old plates.³⁴ When Redington himself died, his son-in-law Benjamin Pollock took over his business, changed the name once again, but continued to issue the very same plays

³³ Speaight, op.cit., p.50; and Wilson Penny Plain, Twopence Coloured, p.32.

³⁴ Speaight, op.cit., pp.148 and 192,

from the very same plates.³⁵ Since Pollock's death, both Benjamin Pollock Ltd. and latterly Pollock's Toy Museum have continued the publication of a number of old plays,³⁶ so that in reprint after reprint Green's original plays have remained in circulation. This is a fortunate circumstance for the University of Victoria since, although in many cases the original Green plays in The Sage Collection are not complete, it is possible, by amalgamating them with Redington and Pollock reprints, to reconstruct sets that may not be entirely whole but which are sufficiently complete to make the following study possible.

³⁵ Ibid., pp.148 and 191.

³⁶ Ibid., p.192.

CHAPTER IV

A CHRONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PLAYS OF J.K.GREEN

All of the plays published by Green between his return to Juvenile Drama in 1832 and his death in 1860 are listed in the following analysis, although only those plays which can be shown to have been original to Green and which are represented in The Sage Collection are studied here in any detail.¹

A chronological approach seems the most desirable since it can in the present study help to place the individual plays in their correct historical perspective, and may in the future provide a useful basis for an examination of the development of Green's own style and publishing habits.² Each play is examined separately, however,

¹Where a play held in The Sage Collection is examined at length the total number of plates that comprise the play is given at the beginning of the analysis. Numbers in parentheses denote the number of plates actually represented in The Sage Collection. The fact that in a number of cases Redington or Pollock reprints are used to fill gaps in the Green plays in The Sage Collection is not acknowledged unless there appears to be some disparity between the reprints and the Green original.

²As close a chronological order as possible has been followed. In cases where the year of publication only is stated, that year has been taken from Speaight, The History of the English Toy Theatre, pp.185-6. Where the exact day and month is given, the information has been taken directly from the sheets in The Sage Collection.

and cross-references are kept to a minimum: this is in order to provide a discrete analysis for each play that can, if necessary, be taken from the body of the thesis and used independently, either as a basis for further research on that play or as background information for a museum display. For the same reason (and also because this chapter is necessarily rather long and the footnotes numerous) the practice of numbering the footnote references continuously throughout the chapter is suspended and the footnotes are numbered consecutively for each individual play.

The method employed in each analysis is basically as follows:

- 1) The originality of the play is determined. Where it is possible to compare Green's play with another publisher's version, in order to discover if one copied the other, such a comparison is undertaken.³
- 11) If the play is original to Green, an effort is then made to discover which production (if any) on the live London stage provided the publisher with his model. The principal source of information about live productions has generally been the London Times. Allardyce Nicoll's A History of English Drama, Vols. IV-VI, has also been used and checked wherever possible against the Times.

³The lists of publishers who published earlier editions of the same plays as Green are taken from Speaight, op.cit., pp.202-17.

- iii) If the model can be identified, Green's play is then examined to see to what extent it is faithful to the live production.
- iv) If the Juvenile Drama version does appear to be faithful, it is finally examined for information about the live production that might not be obtainable from any other source.

It is upon the results of such an analysis that an assessment can be made of the value to the theatre historian of these Juvenile Drama plays.

The Miller and His Men [I]

Published in penny sheets, 1834.

Not represented in The Sage Collection.

Jonathan Bradford

Published in penny sheets, 1834.

Not represented in The Sage Collection.

Douglas

Published in halfpenny sheets, 1834.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.23.

Earlier editions of this play had been published by Jameson and Dyer, but since these are not represented in The Sage Collection it is not possible to free the Green edition from the suspicion of piracy¹ and no examination of this play, therefore, will be attempted.

The Miller and His Men [II]

Published in halfpenny sheets, 1835.

Not represented in The Sage Collection.

¹Speaight claims that Green's edition was copied from Dyer's (The History of the English Toy Theatre, p.49). Since the latter is not represented in The Sage Collection, however, it is not possible to verify this.

Robert Macaire

Published in halfpenny sheets, February 15, 1836.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.66.

The complete play comprises:

? Character plates (5)

3 Scene plates (3)

? Wing plates (1)

Total number of plates: 13 (9)¹

Book (0)

No earlier edition of this play had been published; it is therefore original to Green.

In place of the original book of words there is, in the Sage Collection, a French's Acting Edition of this play, entitled Robert Macaire; or, The Auberge des Adrets, by Charles Selby.² It is clear from Green's characters and scenes that this script is entirely appropriate to the

¹The numbers in parentheses denote the number of plates actually held in the Sage Collection. Where there is no title sheet or book in the collection the exact breakdown of plates may not be known, but the total number of plates for each of Green's plays is given on the back of all his books of words and where necessary, as in the case of this play, this number is cited.

²This should not be confused with a burletta, also by Selby, entitled Robert Macaire, or, The Exploits of a Gentleman at Large, first performed at the Adelphi, March 2, 1835. This was based on Lemaître's own sequel to the original melodrama and was not the play upon which Green based his version.

juvenile version and that Green must have based his drama on a production of either this very Selby play or on one very much like it. In the script it is stated that the melodrama was "First produced at the Victoria Theatre, December 3, 1834," although it is a Covent Garden cast list that is published with the list of characters. An earlier Duncombe's Edition of Selby's melodrama also gives this cast list, together with an engraving (Fig.8) "taken expressly in the Theatre," presumably Covent Garden. This Covent Garden production was running in October, 1835, with Mr.H.Wallack in the title role.³

The character Robert Macaire has an interesting and distinguished stage history. He first appeared in a very unremarkable melodrama, L'Auberge des Adrets, by three French authors, Antier, Saint-Amand and Polyanthe, on July 2, 1823, at the Ambigu-Comique theatre in Paris. Macaire was played by the great romantic star of the boulevards, Frédérick Lemaître, and it was this role that won Lemaître his first important success for, instead of playing the straight melodramatic villain that the authors had intended, Lemaître decided to guy the role and turned

³The London Times, October 20, 1835.

Macaire into a "gay, cynical rascal, quipping as he killed".⁴ The interpretation was a sensation, the role of Macaire remained with Lemaître for the rest of his life, and it is hardly surprising that this melodrama-turned-cynical-comedy soon made an impression across the Channel. The English taste for melodrama was notoriously influenced by French authors in any case and this was certainly not the first or last time that an English melodrama was to be "taken from the French". In 1835 the London Times remarked that the subject of L'Auberge des Adrets was...

sufficiently familiar to the frequenters of theatres in London. It has been translated, and played under various titles at several of the minor theatres within the last ten years, and very recently at the Victoria Theatre.⁵

The occasion for this comment was the presence of Lemaître himself in London playing the role of Macaire in both L'Auberge des Adrets and his own 1834 sequel, Robert Macaire; ou, la Suite de l'Auberge des Adrets, at the Lyceum from January, 1835, through the spring of that year. After this boost to the popularity of the character, there

⁴Baldick, The Life and Times of Frédéric Lemaître, p.37.

⁵The London Times, January 26, 1835.

followed a succession of imitations.⁶ In July, 1835, L'Auberge des Adrets was performed in a season of French plays at the Royal Olympic; in August "a new drama called Robert Macaire" was produced at the Surrey during a T.P. Cooke engagement (it is not clear whether Cooke actually played the title role himself but it would certainly have suited him); in October there was the Covent Garden production which continued to be performed well into the following year; and another production, entitled The Two Murderers, was given some time during 1835 at the City Theatre.⁷ In January, 1836, a version called Robert Macaire opened at the Queen's: this lasted from January 18 until at least March 3, 1836, and it was while this was running that Green published his own version February 15.

Green obviously had plenty of productions from which to choose when planning his version, and it would be unwise to assume that because the Queen's production was flourishing at precisely the right moment it was this that was the publisher's inspiration. Very little information is available about any of the London productions of

⁶ Unless otherwise stated, information about these productions is taken from the London Times, 1835-36.

⁷ Nicoll, A History of English Drama, IV, 398.

L'Auberge des Adrets and so no firm identification of Green's model or models is possible here. There are, however, a number of points about Green's play that should be made.

In the first place, Green's version is unlikely to have been based on Lemaître's performance at the Lyceum. A comparison between Green's drawing of Macaire (Fig.5) and a lithograph of the French actor in the role (Fig.6)



Fig.5



FREDERICK AS ROBERT MACAIRE

Fig.6

reveals that Green was certainly following in the Lemaître tradition and retained most of the essential details of Lemaître's original ragged costume (Cf. a Redington portrait of Mr.Hicks as Macaire published a few years later, Fig.7) but Green omitted both hat and cane (important



Fig.7

properties in the actor's hands) and drew a rather different shirt-front and cravat. Green did, however, give his character Lemaître's distinctive women's slippers: a detail not required by the Duncombe script which refers merely to

"old shoes". The conclusion seems to be that, although Green was not basing his version directly on Lemaître's performance, he was basing it on an imitation of that performance.

In the second place, a comparison between Green's sheets and the engraving and costume details given in the Duncombe edition (Fig.8) suggests that Green was not copying the Covent Garden production. Both the gendarmes' and Marie's headwear are different from those shown by Green, and Green fails to give Marie (Fig.9) the heavy shoes which



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

are called for in the script and are visible in the Duncombe engraving. Indeed, Green fails to give his Marie the authentic travel-worn air of the peasant that she appears to have in the engraving: his Marie is as trim and attractive as the soubrette. There is also a difference apparent in the scenery: Green's scene of the interior of the inn (Fig.10) lacks the heavy balustrade of the stairs



Fig.10

and gallery visible in the engraving, and the door and windows are differently shaped. Green's scene, incidentally, is architecturally highly improbable, and is presumably ill-remembered from the original in the theatre.

Green's sheets reveal a pair of interesting costume details that are not specifically required by the

script: these are the crucifix necklaces or rosaries worn by both his Marie (Fig.9) and Clementine. Intended presumably to suggest the innocence or piety of the women, these necklaces are such prominent features of their costumes that it seems likely that Green must have either copied them directly from some production or added them on his own initiative because he knew them to be conventional details that were de rigueur for such characters.

A curious example of what must be regarded as a certain sloppiness on Green's part is the absence in most of his drawings of the eye-patch which was an essential part of Macaire's disguise throughout the greater part of the play. In fact, the only scene for which the patch is drawn is that in which Sergeant Loupy has to tear it from Macaire's face (Fig.11). This is an unfortunate omission and



Fig.11

curious since the patch would surely have added to the

glamour of the character in the eyes of Green's young customers. It seems unlikely that even the most vain of actors would have played the role without the patch, yet this may possibly be the explanation for Green's omission if he had seen a performance by such an actor.

Finally, there may be one clue as to who that actor might have been. On Character Plate 4, Green's Macaire is shown playing a flute (Fig.12). This is presumably intended for the final tableau of Act I where the script reads: "Towards the conclusion... [of the dance] ... he... [Macaire] ... seizes the violin and leads the orchestra".⁸ There is no requirement for Macaire to play a musical instrument in any other scene; why did Green substitute a flute? Was it because the actor he saw was a better flautist than violinist and preferred to work with that instrument?



Fig.12

⁸Selby, Robert Macaire (French's Acting Edition), p.19.

The Red Rover

Published in halfpenny sheets, April 4, 1836.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.63.

Earlier editions of this play had been published by West, Lloyd, Dyer, Skelt and Park. The Skelt and Park editions are represented in the Sage Collection (Accession No.975.2.63), but since none of the others is present it is not possible to free the Green edition from the suspicion of piracy and no examination of this play, therefore, will be attempted.

The Forty Thieves

Published in halfpenny sheets, April 30, 1836.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.32.

Earlier editions of this play had been published by Heberd, West, Jameson, DeBurson, W.Clarke, Hodgson, O.Hodgson, Allen, Bailey, Straker, Lloyd, Dyer and Skelt. The Skelt edition is represented in the Sage Collection (Accession No.975.2.32), but since none of the others is present it is not possible to free the Green edition from the suspicion of piracy and no examination of this play, therefore, will be attempted.

The Brigand

Published in halfpenny sheets, 1836.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.15.

Earlier editions of this play had been published by West, Dyer and Skelt. The Skelt edition is represented in The Sage Collection (Accession No.975.2.15) but since neither of the others is present it is not possible to free the Green edition from the suspicion of piracy and no examination of this play, therefore, will be attempted.

Harlequin and Guy Fawkes - pantomime

Published in halfpenny sheets, December 26,1836.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.94.

The complete play comprises:

? Character plates (0)
 16 Scene plates (12)
 ? Wing plates (3)
 Total number of plates: 37 (15)
 Book (0)

One other contemporary edition of this pantomime was published, by Skelt. This edition is represented in The Sage Collection (Accession No.975.2.94) so that comparison with the Green edition is possible. This comparison reveals many similarities. There are no character plates or book for the Green edition in The Sage Collection, but the

sequence of scenes in the two editions is identical and the detail of those scenes is also very similar: so similar, in fact, that there can be only three explanations: that Green copied Skelt, Skelt copied Green, or that they each copied their play independently but very faithfully from a common source, i.e. a single stage production.

Only one contemporary production of Harlequin Guy Fawkes can be traced: that which opened on December 26, 1835, at Covent Garden;¹ and a review of this in the London Times confirms, by its account of the plot and its description of some of the scenes, that the Juvenile Drama versions were indeed based on this production.² If the production was copied independently by the two publishers, the similarity between their sheets would be excellent proof of their fidelity to their model. If one of the publishers copied the other, however, this would not be the case and so, in order to determine whether or not a pirate

¹The cast of Harlequin Guy Fawkes, as performed at Covent Garden, December 26, 1835, included the following:
 Mr.J.C.Smith as Harlequin,
 Mrs.C.Hall as Columbine,
 Mr.Jefferini as Clown,
 Mr.Clarke as Pantaloon.
 The London Times, December 26, 1835.

²Ibid., December 28, 1835.

was at work, the differences between the two publishers' sheets must be examined.

In the first place it must be admitted that the quality of Skelt's drawing is higher than that of Green, and Green seems to have a tendency to simplify details. This is not of major importance, however, since in general their choice and distribution of details is identical.

While selection and distribution of details is very similar, the decorative elements in some scenes are rather different, however. A comparison between the two versions of the final scene (Figs.13 & 14) will soon demonstrate this. The differences here are such as to suggest that both publishers were working from sketches of the same scene but that they added decorations independently of each other. If one had been copying the other their decorative detail would surely have been more similar.

A third difference is in the use of three-dimensional effects. In the scene at the Zoo, for example, Green draws his animals directly onto the sheet (Fig.15) while Skelt requires them to be cut out from a character plate and placed in front of the scene (Fig.16). Skelt

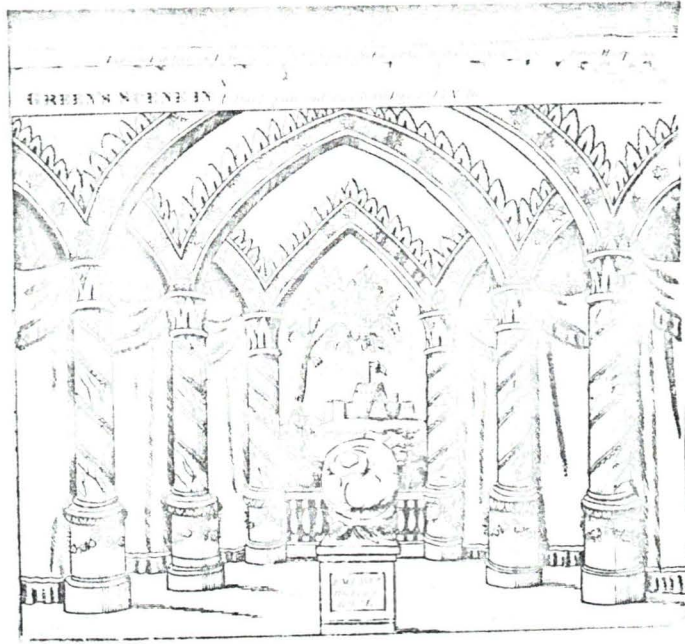


Fig.13

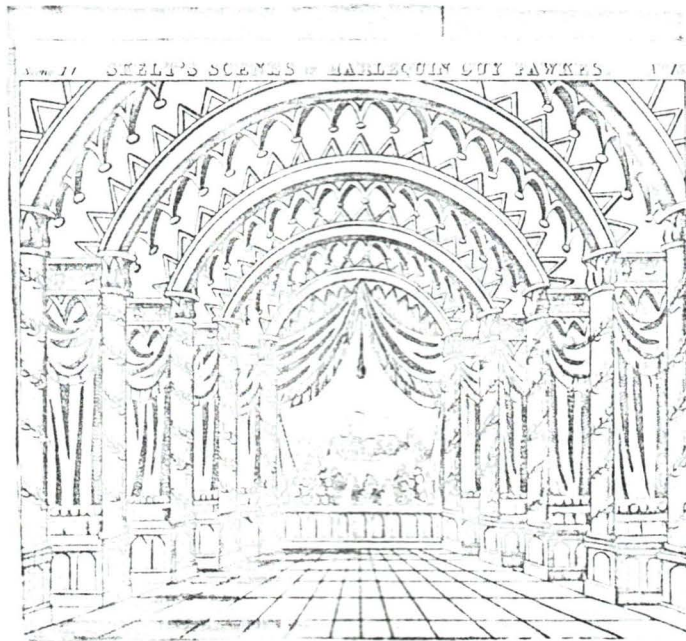


Fig.14



Fig.15

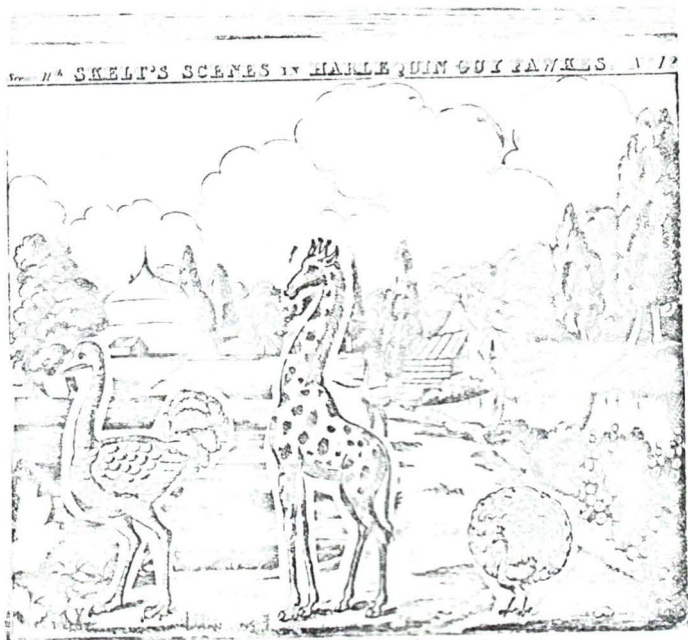


Fig.16

thus achieves a far more attractive effect than Green, and if Green had been copying Skelt it is curious that he should not have attempted something similar.

A fourth difference applies to a scene set in Greenwich Park. The point of the scene seems to have been a satire on a proposal to run the new London and Greenwich Railway (London's first railway line and of great contemporary interest) across the Park on an ornate viaduct supported by colonnades matching those around Wren's famous Royal Hospital. An engraving prepared for subscribers at the time is illustrated below (Fig.17) and from Skelt's version of the scene (Fig.18) it can be seen that this was probably the very engraving that inspired the original scene at Covent Garden.



Fig.17

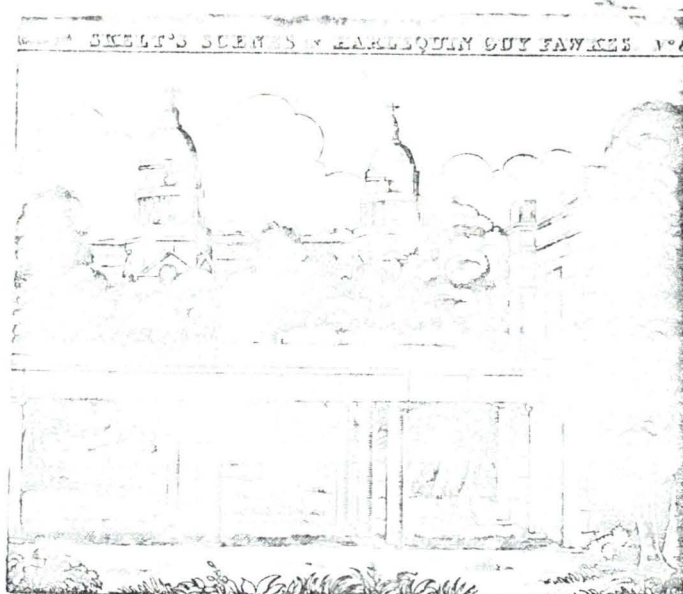


Fig.18

Green's version of this scene (Fig.19), however, presents a totally misleading view of the railway proposal, and, in fact, shows no viaduct at all but a quite mistaken concept of the colonnades around the Hospital. If Green had been copying Skelt it seems unlikely that he would have made such a mess of this scene, and it seems even less likely that Skelt could have been copying Green. The conclusion that must be drawn from this and from the other simplifications and errors on Green's sheets is that Green or his artist did indeed see the scenes at Covent Garden but that the sketches that they made were not always adequate for the engraver to reconstruct those scenes accurately afterwards.

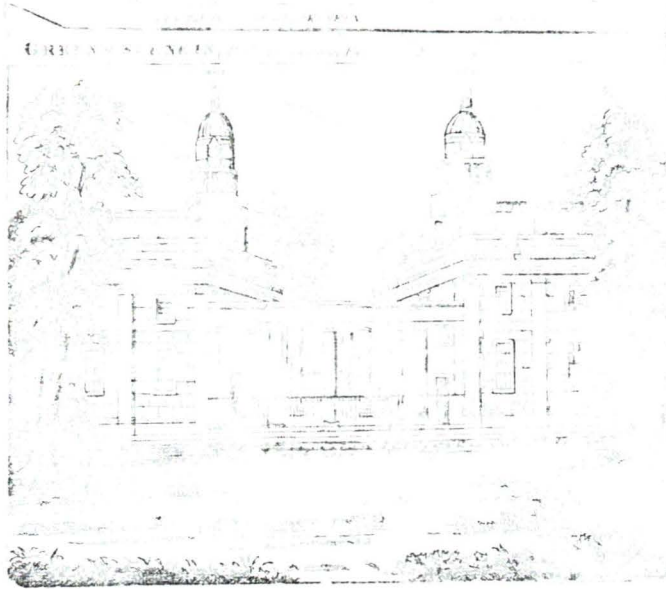


Fig.19

Since the two Juvenile Drama versions of this pantomime do seem to have been drawn independently of each other, and since with the exceptions mentioned above, they are remarkably similar to each other, it must be concluded that they do, in fact, both represent faithful reproductions of the original Covent Garden pantomime: Skelt's probably better than Green's. Since Green's character plates and book are missing from The Sage Collection there is little more that can be said about the Covent Garden production on the basis of evidence from his version. Skelt's version, however, is rather more complete and yields a number of

points of additional interest.

The Greenwich scene (Fig.18) contains one detail (the presence of a locomotive and cars on the viaduct) that conflicts not only with Green's version, which is in any case unreliable, but with a remark by David Mayer who, in commenting on this scene in the original production says that it "showed... no evidence of any attempt to show a locomotive and cars".³ Mayer was presumably basing his remark on a study of the original script. Skelt's script also makes no requirement for a locomotive to appear, and yet one does so. Is it to be assumed that this was a gratuitous detail added by Skelt, or was there indeed a locomotive represented in some way in the original scene at Covent Garden? Here is an example of the Juvenile Drama providing specific information about live stage scenery that has not come to light in any other way.

The reviewer in the London Times made an interesting remark about the length of the Columbine's skirts in this pantomime: "Her jupes were marvellously short, and, to speak the truth, the symmetry of her leg did

³ Mayer, Harlequin in His Element, p.216.

not justify their brevity".⁴ If the skirts of this Columbine as shown on the Skelt sheets (Fig.21) are compared with those of a West Columbine of ten years earlier (Fig.20) it is apparent that by 1835 hems were indeed getting higher. From the reviewer's remark it would appear that this was an issue of some particular interest, so it seems that the Juvenile Drama version of this pantomime illustrates something of a landmark in one aspect, at least, of theatrical fashions.



Fig.20



Fig.21

⁴The London Times, December 28, 1835.

Harlequin Guy Fawkes was produced at the very end of the period of pantomime history covered by Mayer's book, Harlequin in His Element: that is at a point when, without the genius of a Grimaldi to sustain the old traditions, the genre was beginning to undergo what Mayer calls "painful mutations".⁵ One of those mutations is illustrated in Harlequin Guy Fawkes: that is a change in the hitherto inviolable "transformation scene". In this scene (Scene 6) the hero Monteagle is confined to prison for the duration of the harlequinade while the villain, Guy Fawkes, is transformed into a lecherous Harlequin intent on persuing the heroine, Columbine (an activity previously associated with the Lover character). In the end, the heroine is reunited with Monteagle, of course, but the Times called this "a decided departure from all former pantomimes in which the hand of Columbine has invariably been bestowed upon her suitor of many colours".⁶ Here, then, is an example in Juvenile Drama form of a pantomime at a crucial turning point in the history of the genre, and since it is the earliest example of a pantomime of any kind in The Sage Collection it is, especially the Skelt version, worthy of particular attention.

⁵Mayer, op.cit., p.308.

⁶The London Times, December 28, 1835.

State Secrets

Published in halfpenny sheets, 1837.

Not represented in the Sage Collection.

The Lord Mayor's Fool

Published in halfpenny sheets, April 1, 1837.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.46.

The complete play comprises:

4 Character plates (4)

3 Scene plates (3)

1 Wing plate (0)

Book (1)

No earlier edition of this play had been published; it is original to Green.

Three contemporary productions of this play, otherwise known as The Grand Secret - A Tale of 1462, can be traced: the first at the Surrey from August, 1833,¹ the second at the Royal Pavilion from September 29, 1834,² and the third at Astley's from June 12, 1837.³ The last of these came too late to have influenced Green's version, but if he had based his version on either of the other

¹ Surrey Theatre playbill, August 23, 1833, in Metropolitan Toronto Central Library Collection.

² Nicoll, A History of English Drama, IV, 495.

³ Ibid., IV, 495.

two they must have continued running several years after their initial performances, perhaps as afterpieces. There may well have been other productions. This was an insubstantial comedy of mistaken identities, very cheap to stage and hardly worthy of much publicity; its success must have been due either to its songs or to the comic business invented by the principal actor. One coincidence about the three known productions stands out, however: in each case the actor Mr. Vale was present in the company. In a Surrey playbill for August 23, 1833, Vale is named as playing the title role,⁴ and at Astley's in 1837 special mention was made in the London Times that Mr. Vale would be performing.⁵ It seems not improbable, therefore, that this play and this role were vehicles for Vale's comic and vocal talents, and that the play was revived as an afterpiece frequently wherever Vale was playing. On this assumption, although Green's ability at portraiture cannot be relied upon, one might be tempted to discern a consistency in the way he portrays the Fool's face

⁴ Surrey Theatre playbill, loc.cit.

⁵ The London Times, June 12, 1837. Vale's name is also mentioned in the announcement for the production at the Royal Pavilion in the London Times, September 29, 1834.

(Figs.22-24). There is a consistent cherubic quality in the character's face which is sufficiently distinct to suggest that these figures give a reasonably accurate impression of Vale's appearance in the role.



Fig.22



Fig.23



Fig.24

Since this play, described in the Surrey playbill as a "Comic Burletta in One Act", has a specific historical setting (the Wars of the Roses) it is interesting to examine the costumes given to the characters by Green. The mixture he presents is quite extraordinary, combining the full-bottomed wig of Sir Stephen, the semi-Roman armour of the soldiers, the medieval armour of the lords, cavalier collars, Elizabethan doublets and hose with the standard dress of the melodramatic heroines in their contemporary low-cut, heavily corseted fashions. However, in the midst of this, a half-hearted attempt to be historically accurate can be

discerned, and that attempt is best demonstrated in the head-dress of Lady Osgood. A comparison between the costumes of Lady Flowerdale (Fig.25) and Lady Osgood (Fig.26) illustrates quite clearly the clash between conventional contemporary stage dress and costume designed with history in mind.



Fig.25



Fig.26

One final note on this play: no author of the original version has hitherto been recorded. The Surrey playbill, however, declares that the play was "by the Author of The Last Man". The Last Man had been performed at the Surrey only the month before and was written by that prolific author, George Dibdin Pitt.⁶ Since the playbill names Pitt as playing the role of Sir Stephen Purcell in The Lord Mayor's Fool, there seems every reason to accept that he was indeed the author of this play too.

⁶Nicoll, op.cit., IV,604

The Wreck Ashore

Published in halfpenny sheets, 1837.

Not represented in The Sage Collection.

Blue Beard

Published in halfpenny sheets, 1837.

Not represented in The Sage Collection.

Wapping Old Stairs

Published in halfpenny sheets, February 1, 1838.

The Sage Collection, Accession No. 975.2.78.

The complete play comprises:

8 Character plates (8)
10 Scene plates (10)
5 Wing plates (3)

Book (1)

No earlier edition of this play had been published; it is original to Green.

Nicoll records three different versions of this play written before 1838: by Blake, Faucit and Holl.¹ Nicoll's assignment of these versions to the theatres at which they were first performed, however, is at variance with information gathered from acting editions of the plays

¹ Nicoll, A History of English Drama, VI, 534.

and with reports in the London Times. The correct assignments would seem to be as follows:

The version by T.G.Blake was first performed at the Royal Pavilion on July 7, 1834. This was several years before Green's edition, of course, and the characters and scenes as they appear in the acting edition of the play published by J.Pattie suggest that this could not have been Green's model since they are quite dissimilar. The version by H.Holl was first performed at the Haymarket on November 18, 1837. The characters and scenes in the Duncombe edition of this play are again quite unlike those of Green, and a review of the production in the London Times² confirms the impression that this was not Green's model. Indeed, it does not appear that this production was particularly successful: the Times' reviewer execrated it and no further performances can be traced in the Times after November 27, 1837.

The only other contemporary production of this play on record was at the Surrey, opening on November 13, 1837. A review of this in the Times³ suggests that this may well have been Green's model since what limited inform-

²The London Times, November 20, 1837.

³Ibid., November 16, 1837.

ation is given about characters and scenes does match with Green's version. The highlight of the play, for example, seems to have been, according to the Times, "a terrific leap from the mast-head of an Indianman" by the character Tom, played by E.F.Saville, and this leap appears in the Green version of the play (Fig.27) while it is not mentioned in either of the Blake or Holl versions.

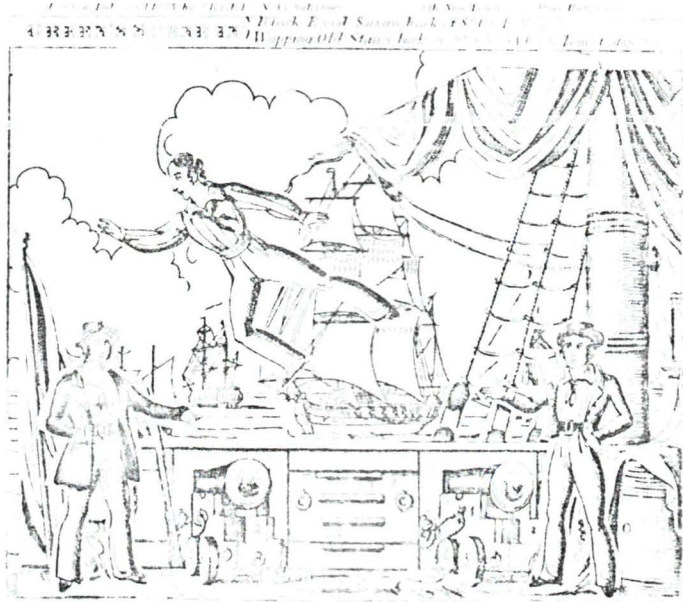


Fig.27

It may be supposed that this Surrey production was of the version by J.S.Faucit mentioned by Nicoll. Michael Booth cites a detail from this version in his English Melodrama which, like the leap, appears in neither the Blake or Holl

versions but is illustrated by Green:

Adams in John Savile's [John Saville Faucit's] Wapping Old Stairs ... is seated in his high-back chair "in a state of imbecility and abstraction". The heroine's child plays between his knees, and the mother cleverly "places the child in his arms, and draws its hands over the old man's face, which instantly becomes serene. He presses the child fondly."⁴

Green illustrates this scene with the following characters

(Figs.28 & 29):

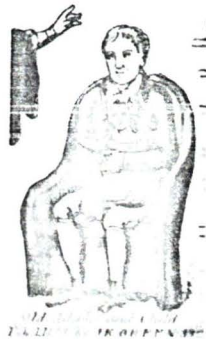


Fig.28



Fig.29

It seems most likely, then, that it was this Surrey production of Wapping Old Stairs by J.S.Faucit that Green reproduced. This production was, moreover, far more successful than the Haymarket version, received a favourable

⁴ Booth, English Melodrama, p.32.

review in the Times and continued to be performed well into the new year.⁵ Wapping Old Stairs was typical of a genre of nautical drama that was essentially British in origin and nature, featuring as its hero the familiar British tar with his inimitable nautical jargon, rolling gait and penchant for hornpipes and rum. The popularity of this genre during the early part of the Nineteenth Century was merely a reflection of the popularity of the Royal Navy itself after its victories over Napoleon, but also, as Booth remarks...

a theatre like the Surrey, the headquarters of nautical melodrama, drew a considerable proportion of its patrons from sailors, Thames watermen, shipwrights, dock workers, and all those who lived and worked near the river or sailed on it to the open sea.⁶

And thus the success of Wapping Old Stairs at the Surrey is not to be wondered at.

⁵The cast of the Surrey production included the following:
 Mr.Green as Lieutenant Willoughby,
 Mr.E.F.Saville as Tom,
 Mr.Dale as Old Adams,
 Mr.Davidge as Poor Jack,
 Mrs.R.Honner as Molly,
 Miss Martin as Sally.
 The London Times, November 13, 1837.

⁶Booth, op.cit., p.102.

Without further information about the Surrey production it is impossible to ascertain the degree of fidelity achieved by Green in this play; one or two points should be noted, however.

At least two characters appear on Green's plates who are given no lines in his script and take no part in the action of the play: these are the Jew Pedlar and Susan who are both put on at the beginning of Scene 5 for no apparent reason other than to fill up the stage. Presumably these characters did fulfill some function in the original version of the play and Green, although he cut their lines, felt that it would offend his customers if he did not at least draw their figures. It is such gratuitous details that suggest that Green was not wholly a slave to economic pressures but was concerned to reproduce plays as they had been performed on the live stage.

The character of Poor Jack (an apparently superfluous figure intended merely for comic relief, not featured in either Blake's or Holl's versions of the play) is given by Green considerable prominence and Scene 7, in which Jack tells yarns with Sam and Sarah, is lengthy and out of all proportion to its relevance to the plot. The

reason for this would seem to be that Jack and his yarns were of particularly great appeal to the younger people who saw the play at the theatre, and, in fact, the Times' review of the Surrey production remarked that "an opportunity was afforded for some effective acting of Mr. Davidge, in the character of Poor Jack, of which he fully availed himself, and secured success to the piece"⁷. Davidge was the only male performer mentioned by name in the review.

If the role of Poor Jack was of such importance in the original production it is obviously no mere whim on Green's part that led him to represent the character in no fewer than four different poses, three of which are associated with properties with comic potential, yet none of which seem really necessary to the juvenile play. The broom with which Jack appears in Scene 4 (Fig.30) is not mentioned at all in the script, and the plank which he carries in Scene 2 (Fig.31) bears details (the two pegs at one end) which, although of little importance, do help to build a more complete picture of what this production originally looked like than might otherwise have been received from a simple reading of the script.

⁷The London Times, November 6, 1837



Fig.30



Fig.31

Lord Darnley

Published in halfpenny sheets, April 1, 1839.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.45.

The complete play comprises:

5 Character plates (5)

7 Scene plates (7)

2 Wing plates (0)

Book (1)

No earlier edition of this play had been published; it is original to Green.

Only one version of this play can be traced prior to Green's edition. This was the romance Lord Darnley; or, The Keeper of the Castle Hill by T.E.Wilks, first performed at the Surrey on September 11, 1837.¹

¹Nicoll, A History of English Drama, IV, 420.

Green's version was not published until eighteen months later. A comparison with the original script of Wilks' play, however, leaves no doubt that this was the play that Green used since the characters, scenes and incidents in each are identical. If it was the Surrey production of the play that was Green's model, then it must be assumed that Lord Darnley had found a place as a regular afterpiece in the Surrey repertoire. An unremarkable romance set in late Sixteenth Century Scotland, it is difficult to see how the play merited the popularity it must undoubtedly have had to persuade Green to reproduce it in the juvenile form, unless, as with The Lord Mayor's Fool, the principal role afforded opportunity to some actor to display his virtuosity. The actor who originally played Darnley at the Surrey was a Mr.Cooper.²

2

The cast at the Surrey was as follows:

Mr.Cooper as Lord Darnley,
 Mr.Elvia as Lord Lumley,
 Mr.D.Pitt as Andrew Todd,
 Mr.Dixon as Edward Burnette,
 Mr.W.Smith as Sandy McScrew,
 Mr.Lyon as Will Elliott,
 Mr.Cullen as Dunleary,
 Mr.Asbury as McNeil,
 Mr.Morelli as Davie,
 Mr.Goldsmith as Father Anselm,
 Mrs.Lowe as Lady Margaret,
 Miss Grant as Ellen,

- from the Duncombe edition of the play.

With so little information available, there is not a great deal more that can be said about this very slight piece. It is, however, set in a distinct historical period and the costumes are therefore worth examination. In fact, Green follows the costume instructions given in the acting edition of Wilks' script quite closely. Although the costumes are, for the most part, unremarkable, being in the traditional Scottish style, Green does, for example, illustrate all three of Darnley's costumes much as they are described in the script, and he seems to reproduce Lady Margaret's "black velvet dress with trail" fairly accurately (Fig.32) although he omits her "plaid scarf". However, Lady Margaret can hardly be said to be dressed in style contemporaneous to that of Mary Queen of Scots, and the Sixteenth Century Scottish Milk Maid (Fig.33) is given



Fig.32



Fig.33

a dress and hair style that are interchangeable with those of any number of Green's maids and peasant girls in plays as far apart in historical setting as Robert Macaire and The Lord Mayor's Fool.

Jack Sheppard

Published in halfpenny sheets, December 26, 1839.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.39.

The complete play comprises:

17 Character plates (17)
40 Scene plates, diorama, etc.(32)
7 Wing plates (0)

Book (0)

Consisting of no fewer than 64 plates, this was the longest Juvenile Drama play ever published. No earlier edition of the play had been published; it is original to Green.

Jack Sheppard was a notorious housebreaker of the Eighteenth Century, renowned for his remarkable ability to escape from whatever prison in which he was held. In 1839, Bentley's Miscellany began publishing a serialised novel by Harrison Ainsworth based on Sheppard's life.¹

¹ Blanchard, "Memoir of William Harrison Ainsworth," p.xv.

Ainsworth romanticised the villain to a point where he became a tragic hero pursued to the gallows by the relentless, inhuman malice of the thief-taker, Jonathan Wild. The novel, with brilliant illustrations by George Cruikshank, was an immense success in spite of (or perhaps because of) its dubious moral perspective, and it is hardly surprising that numerous theatrical adaptors soon began their parasitic attacks on it. In fact, during the last three months of 1839 there were no fewer than eight different stage adaptations of Jack Sheppard running almost simultaneously in London: at the Royal Pavilion, the Garrick, the Queen's, the City of London, Sadler's Wells, the Adelphi, the Victoria and the Surrey; at Christmas the novel received the final accolade by being made into a pantomime at Drury Lane.² It was at Christmas that Green issued his Juvenile Drama version of the play, and at about the same time Skelt issued a Juvenile Drama version of the pantomime (see Appendix B).

The amazing number of productions obviously makes it difficult to identify which, if any, was used by

² Bleackley, Jack Sheppard, pp.92, et.seq.

Green as a model, especially since there is little information available about the majority of them. On the assumption that those for which there is the least information available were relatively obscure productions and not remarkably successful, however, it would seem possible to eliminate at least four from this enquiry: those at the Pavilion, the Garrick, the Queen's and the City of London. These were all North and East London theatres, not featuring particularly well-known actors or actresses in the title role, and not apparently offering any other peculiar attractions that might have enticed Green across the city to view them.³ Two far more important productions can also be dismissed from this study. These were the ones at Sadler's Wells and the Adelphi.⁴ An examination of the scripts of these two adaptations, by Thomas Greenwood and J.B.Buckstone respectively, reveals that in both cases they fell far short of Green in the wealth of scenery used. Neither production, for example, used scenes of the Willesden Cage, Willesden Church interior,

³ Three at least of these theatres, however, were to provide Green with models later in his career and so these cannot be dismissed solely on the grounds of their location.

⁴ Both opened on October 28, 1839. Bleackley, loc.cit.

Clerkenwell prison or the Condemned Hold in Newgate: all of which Green drew in considerable detail. Furthermore, the Adelphi production (which was by far the most celebrated production of all) ended in a quite different way to Green's version: that is with a fire at Wild's house and the death of the villain (a departure from Ainsworth, in fact). Green illustrates Ainsworth's account of the procession to Tyburn in an elaborate diorama as his final scene.

This leaves two possible theatrical sources for Green's play: the productions at the Victoria and the Surrey, both of which theatres were close to Green's own home in Walworth. The Victoria production was based on an adaptation by W.T.Moncrieff,⁵ the Surrey one on an adaptation by J.T.Haines;⁶ both opened on October 21, 1839. Scripts of these two versions are not available and no reviews were given in the London Times, but some information can be gleaned from the advertisements issued by the two houses. The Victoria advertised in the Times as follows:

⁵Moncrieff had previously written another version of the play which was performed at the Coburg in 1825 (Nicoll, A History of English Drama, IV, 359) but this was clearly eclipsed by the new adaptation from Ainsworth.

⁶Nicoll, op.cit., IV, 323.

First time, with the express sanction and approbation of the original author, Mr. Ainsworth, aided by Mr. Cruikshank's inimitable designs, Moncrieff's Jack Sheppard; or, The Progress of Crime.⁷

and on the theatre's playbills was announced:

The public is now fearlessly challenged to decide if in its present most ASTONISHING AND ELECTRICAL Representation of the GREAT HURRICANE on the river Thames... the Artists of the Theatre have not equalled and even surpassed all previous efforts of a like nature.⁸

The mention of the hurricane raises an interesting point. Green omitted from his version all scenes associated with what Ainsworth called "Epoch the First," that is the period of the story when Jack was a baby and which constituted Act I of the Greenwood and Buckstone versions of the play. It was during this epoch that the hurricane occurred and, although these scenes could easily have been cut without damage to the main line of the plot, the hurricane seems to have been something of a scene-a-faire: it would surely have delighted Green's young customers and so it is odd that it should have been omitted by Green. Perhaps the publisher felt that sixty-four plates

⁷ The London Times, October 21, 1839.

⁸ Bleackley, op.cit., 94.

were quite enough and he could not afford to invest in any more, or perhaps he was basing his version on a production at a theatre where the hurricane scene was also omitted. If this was the case then that theatre could not have been the Victoria. Could it have been the Surrey? It is not certain whether the Surrey featured the hurricane but it seems likely that it did. An advertisement in the Times reads:

First Night of Ainsworth's Jack Sheppard with 50 new Scenes, a Diorama and embodiment of all Cruikshank's incredible and surprising Tableaux Vivants.⁹

A week after the opening, Davidge, the manager, procured and published a letter from Ainsworth giving that author's express sanction to the production, satisfied that it would "furnish a complete representation of the Principal Scenes of the Romance".¹⁰ It certainly looks as though the Surrey also featured the hurricane. Green only published thirty-eight actual scenes as compared to the Surrey's fifty and the difference can probably be explained by the absence in Green's version of those scenes associated with "Epoch the First".

⁹The London Times, loc.cit.

¹⁰Ibid.

A possible clue to the identity of Green's model appears on a Victoria Theatre playbill dated October 28, (1845?).¹¹ The playbill advertises what is plainly a revival of the play but it employs a "logo" of very distinctive design (Fig.34) which is to be found copied exactly by Green on the title sheet of his juvenile version (Fig.35). It must be assumed that this logo had been used on earlier playbills for the original production in 1839 and was copied at that time by Green. This is not conclusive proof that Green saw the Victoria production, since the printer of the playbill may have previously used the logo for the bills of some other theatre, but it does confirm that Green was at least fully aware of the productions going on around him and that he did not design his version totally independent of those productions.

More clues are to be found among a number of miniature portraits (probably cut from sheets of fours) by unknown publishers held in the Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.39). Two of these portraits are of Mr.R.Honner as Jack Sheppard (Fig.36) and Mr.Hall as

¹¹ The playbill is held in the Metropolitan Toronto Central Library Collection. The year is written in by hand.

To conclude with a Drama, comprising a succession of Events, illustrated from *Ainsworth's* popular Life and Adventures of the
Notorious Highwayman entitled

JACK SHEPPARD

Sir Rowland Trenchard, - - - - **Mr GASTON,**
Mr Kneebone, - (a Woollen Draper) - **Mr J. HERRERT,**
Owen Wood, (the Carpenter of Wych Street) **Mr JAMES,**
Jonathan Wild, - (the Thief-Taker) - **Mr DALE,**
Blueskin, (his Man of All-Work) **Mr J. T. JOHNSON,**
Abraham Mendez, (a Jew) and { Wild's Janissaries, } **Mr WILTON.**
Quilt Arnold, - { **Mr EDGAR,**
Jack Sheppard, (the Notorious Highwayman) **Mr E. F. SAVILLE,**
Thames Darrell, (Fellow-Apprentice with Jack Sheppard) **Mr HENRY,**
Shotbolt, (Turnkey of Newgate) **Mr SCARBROW,**
Marvel, - (the Hangman) - **Mr BANDALL,**
Caliban, (a Newgate Imp of Satan) **Mr MACDONALD,**
Terence and Murphy, (Irish Chairmen) **Mr FBANKLIN & Mr BARTLETT**
Baptiste Kettleby, (Host of the "Refuge of the Seven Cities") **Mr HITCHINSON,**

Fig. 34

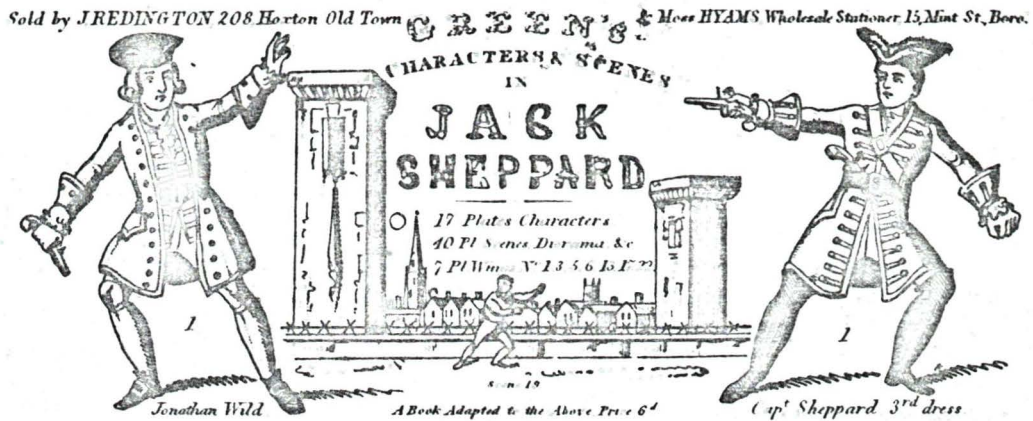


Fig.35

Jonathan Wild (Fig.37). These were the principals in the Sadler's Wells production¹² of the play, and although their costumes are very similar to those shown by Green (Fig.35) it has already been shown that this could not have been Green's model.



Fig.36



Fig.37

12

Bleackley, op.cit., pp.101-102.

The other portraits in the Collection are of actors in the Surrey production¹³ and include Mr.E.F.Saville as Jack (Fig.38) and Mr.Neville as Wild (Fig.39).



Fig.38



Fig.39

A comparison between these figures and Green's (Fig.35) does not prove conclusive: they are much the same as the Sadler's Wells figures, and it would seem that the Ainsworth descriptions and Cruikshank's illustrations had been so universally admired that they had set a similar pattern for all productions. There is, however, one exception to this, and that is the heavily decorated (perhaps embroidered) coat that Neville is seen wearing as the Surrey's Jonathan Wild. Ainsworth and Cruikshank give no

¹³ Ibid., pp.92-93

authority for this and neither the scripts for the Sadler's Wells or Adelphi versions require anything so elaborate in their costume descriptions. The fact that Green also gives Wild a heavily patterned coat on some of his plates (Fig.40) seems to suggest, therefore, that there may have been a connection between his version and that at the Surrey.



Fig.40

With most of the evidence connecting Green with the Victoria and the Surrey productions exhausted, there is another possibility that must be seriously considered. It has been shown how both the Victoria and Surrey managements claimed to have reproduced Ainsworth's novel, and particularly Cruikshank's illustrations, faithfully in their set designs. If this was the case, what was there to prevent Green from copying Cruikshank's illustrations himself, directly from the pages of the novel, and by-passing the theatre altogether? From what is known

of Green's methods, such a short cut might well have appealed to him. When Green's thirty-eight scenes are compared with Cruikshank's illustrations, the following breakdown is possible: twenty of Green's scenes have Cruikshank equivalents, seven are entirely original to Green and six are stock scenes previously issued for other plays (five are missing from The Sage Collection). What is significant here is that at least seven scenes were definitely not copied from Cruikshank and yet are well-drawn, detailed scenes. Furthermore, when the scenes that do have Cruikshank equivalents are examined, it becomes apparent that Green has done rather more than slavishly copy the illustrations. A number of examples will soon demonstrate this.

i) The Interior of the Cross Shovels (Fig.41 & 42)



Fig.41



Fig.42

In this scene Green shows a great deal more background detail than Cruikshank (Fig.43) and if Green had been copying Cruikshank he would surely not have copied the notice "Laws of the Island of Jamaica" incorrectly and written as he did "The Laws of the Land". This error would, however, be quite understandable if the notice was copied from a seat in a theatre.

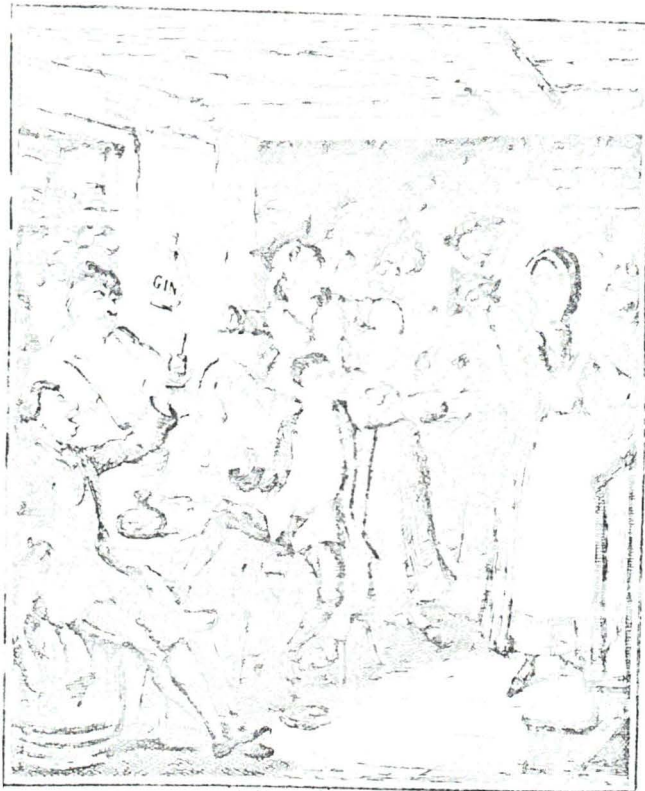


Fig.43

ii) The Interior of Willesden Church (Fig.44)

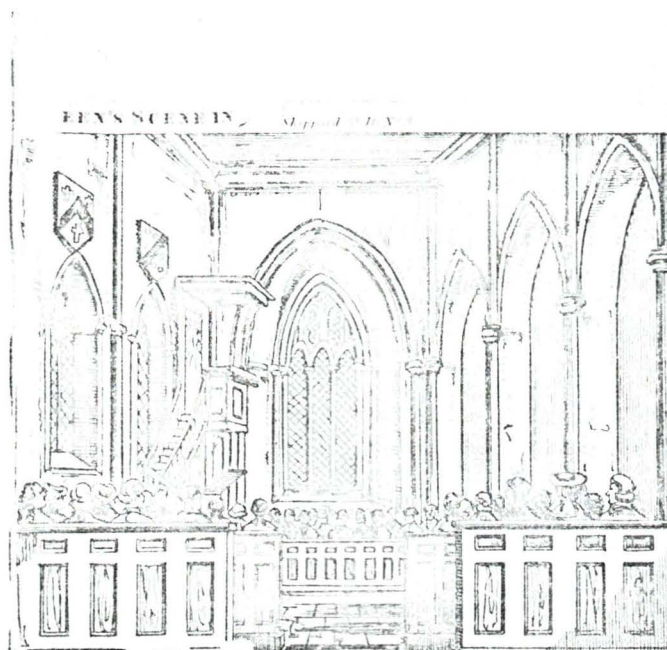


Fig.44

Green's version of this is decidedly odd. He omits the minister and altar screen that are illustrated by Cruikshank (Fig.45) and replaces them with part of the congregation: he seems, indeed, to have altered the axis of the scene totally, and for no apparent reason.

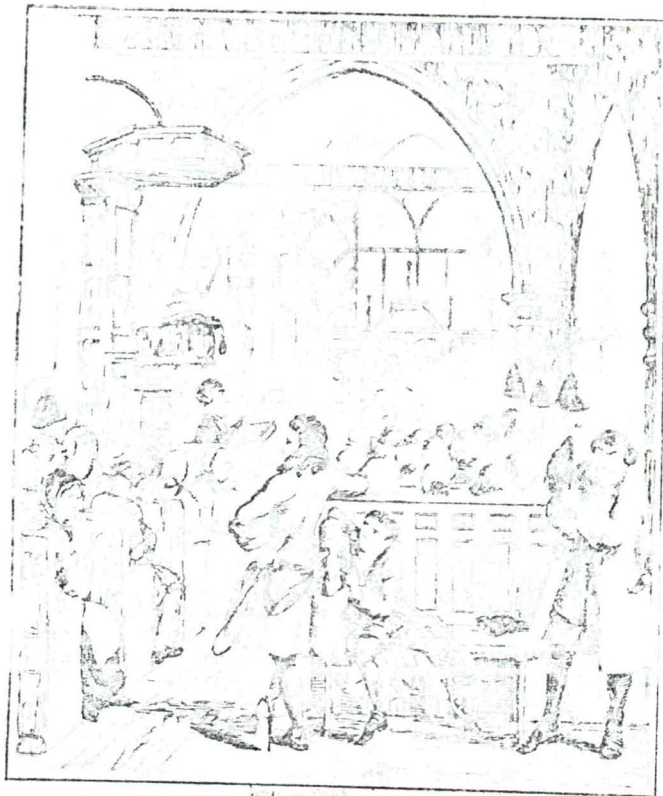


Fig.45

iii) The simultaneous staging of the Great Escape from Newgate (Fig.46)

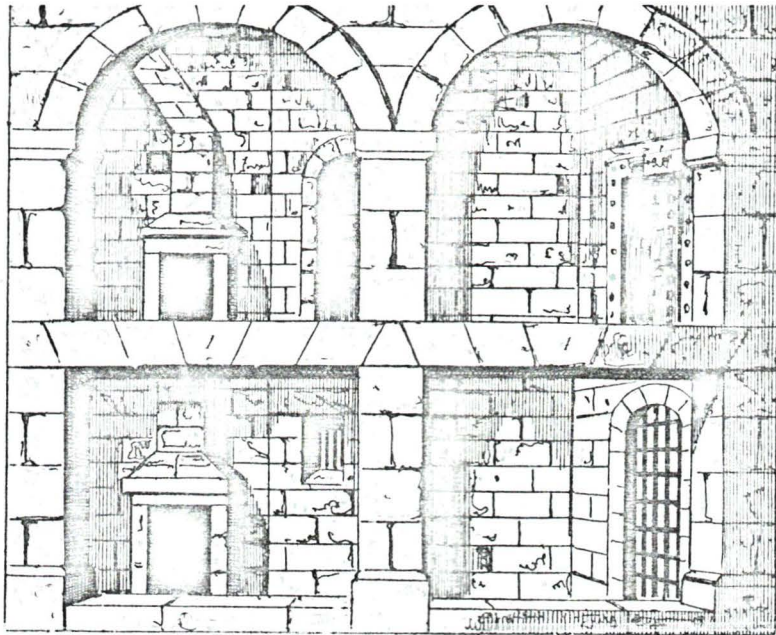


Fig.46

There are many obvious differences here between Green's version and Cruikshank's (Fig.47) but the most significant of these is that Green has framed each of his four small scenes with a miniature proscenium arch: a necessity in the live theatre, of course, but not absolutely required on a two-dimensional scene in the toy theatre.



Fig.47

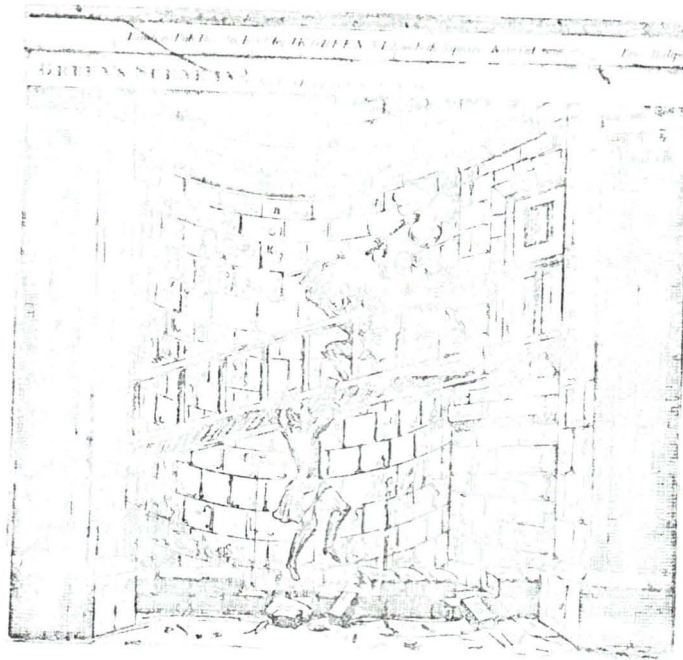
iv) The Well Hole (Fig.48)

Fig.48

Here also Green has added to the Cruikshank version (Fig.49) a proscenium arch and also a ground row, making the scene look far more practical in live theatre terms but not really necessary in the toy theatre.

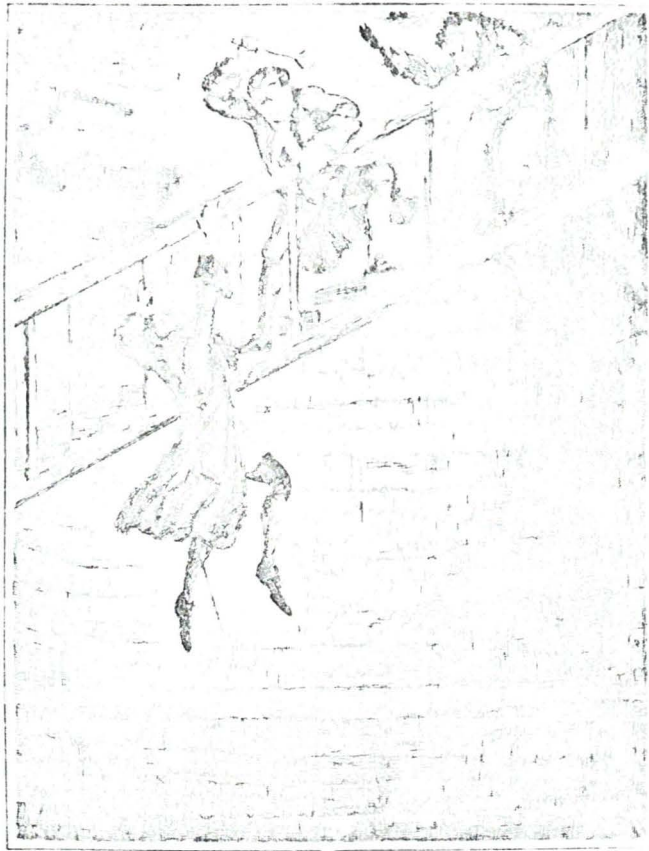


Fig.49

v) The Leads of Newgate (Fig.50)

Fig.50

Here Green has drawn projections Left and Right which strongly suggest stage wings. These do not appear in Cruikshank's illustration (Fig.51) but are the kind of additions that would have to have been made in adapting Cruikshank's drawing to a live theatre scene.

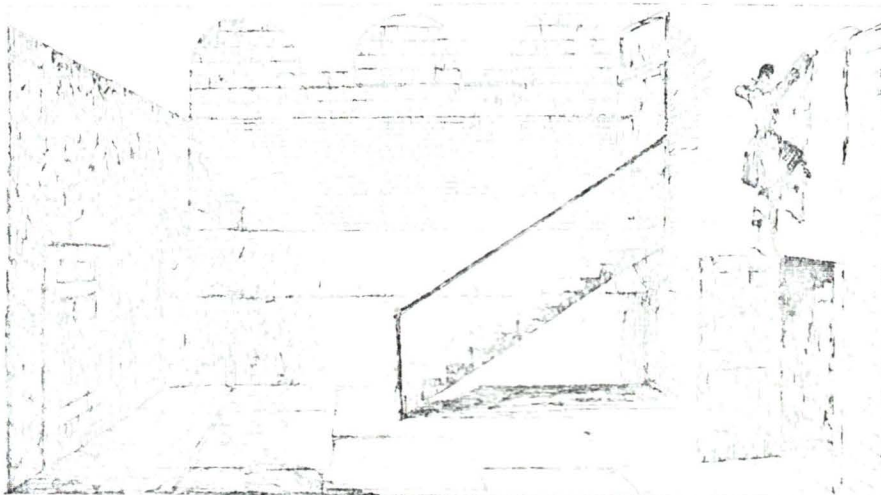


Fig.51

Clearly, Green was no hack copyist; not in the case of Jack Sheppard, at least. The examples cited above all seem to suggest that either Green did have a live theatre model or that in copying Cruikshank directly he made a very deliberate and imaginative attempt to adapt Cruikshank's illustrations in such a way as to make them appear more theatrical. Looked at in this light, it might have been simpler for Green to copy the live theatre scenes after all. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that there are still a number of Green's scenes that are remarkably similar to Cruikshank's: his drawing of the Cage at Willesden (Fig.52), for example, and the minutiae of the notices affixed to it is so similar to Cruikshank's (Fig.53) that it is unlikely that it could have been copied so accurately in the theatre.

There is one final piece of evidence that at first sight seems to suggest that Green did copy directly from Cruikshank's illustrations: that is that, in a number of cases, the poses of Green's characters as well as his scenes are very similar to those drawn by Cruikshank. A good example of this can be found in the Cross Shovels scene (Cf.Figs.42 & 43). How could Green have achieved

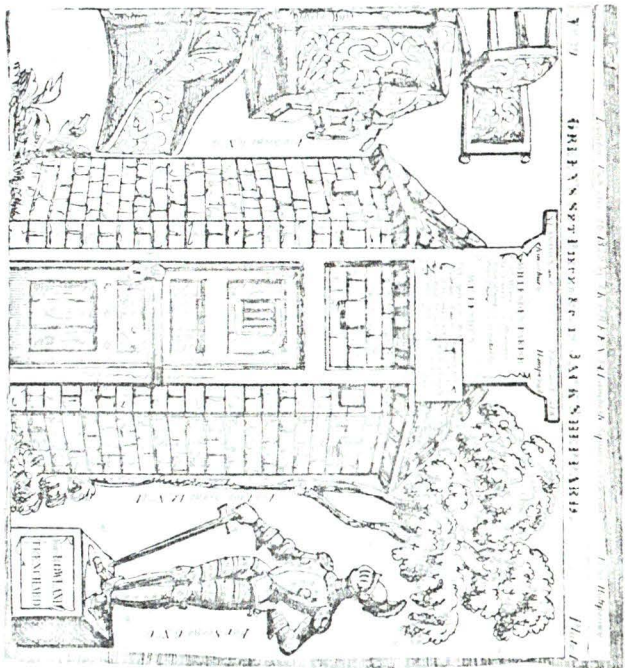


Fig. 52

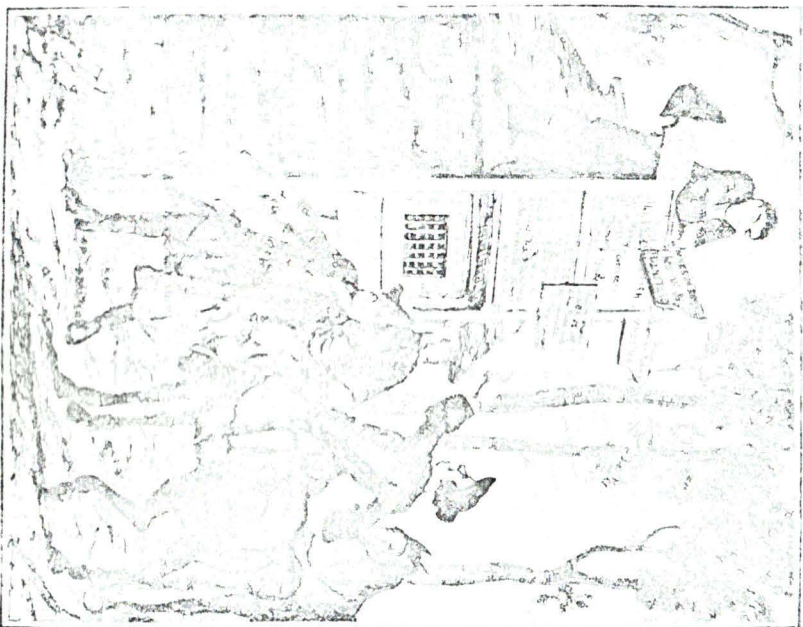


Fig. 53

such similar poses unless he copied Cruikshank directly? The evidence of the scenes listed above suggests that Green did not copy Cruikshank directly, and so the only other explanation has to be that Green copied a production which itself endeavoured to recreate not only Cruikshank's scenes but also the poses of his characters. Such a production was that at the Surrey which advertised the "embodiment of all Cruikshank's incredible and surprising Tableaux Vivants" (see above, p.127), and the fact that there is no report of the Victoria having made a similar claim tends to place the weight of evidence in favour of Green having copied the production at the Surrey.

Perhaps the final conclusion about Green's model might be expressed as follows: that Green based his version on a live theatre production (or productions), that this production was quite exceptionally faithful to the Ainsworth novel and its illustrations, that it was of a remarkable length and was expensively mounted; and that it was probably the one at the Surrey. At the same time, Green did have access to the novel itself and to the Cruikshank illustrations and he may have used these as points of reference in the detail and arrangement of some of his

scenes. There is no doubt, however, that Green's version is essentially theatrical in inspiration and, for the most part, not copied directly from Cruikshank.

As an example of a genre of melodrama that has been called Highwayman, or Tyburn, Drama, Jack Sheppard is not entirely typical since it is plainly on a rather more elaborate scale than many. Nevertheless, although the costumes may well be indebted directly or indirectly to a non-theatrical source, it is worth noting what Frank Rahill has said about Jack's predecessors, the gothic stage bandits and ogres of twenty years earlier:

Their aspect was romantic - even baroque; they wore extravagantly plumed hats with huge flapping brims, enormous yellow boots and gauntlets, green tunics over shining cuirasses, and magenta knee breeches held in place by great black belts into which were thrust a poignard or two, and a magnificent basket-hilted sword.¹⁴

Rahill draws his description directly from observing early Juvenile Drama prints, and perhaps he should have been more tentative about accepting the colours of the costumes (See above, p.17) but in Jack Sheppard there is evidence that by 1839 there was a definite tendency to make stage villains

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Rahill, The World of Melodrama, p.146.

appear rather more realistic. In fact, the costumes in Green's play are quite appropriate to early Eighteenth Century England: the pistols, belts, swords and poignards are still in evidence, of course, but the general effect is far less flamboyant and far more accurately set in historical time and place. Even Lady Trafford's dress (Fig.54), which is remarkably similar to that of Lady Margaret in Lord Darnley (Fig.32) reveals an attempt to design sleeves and head-dress in accordance with Eighteenth Century fashions.



Fig.54

It has already been mentioned that the story of Jack Sheppard as interpreted by Ainsworth was of somewhat doubtful morals, and yet the novel and the plays were extremely successful. Some of the most popular features of the Adelphi version, for example, were the songs written in the highwaymen's "flash" jargon. One of these in

particular, "Nix my dolly," is even said to have been made the subject of a peal of chimes in St.Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh.¹⁵ In 1840, however, came a severe shock to the plays' reputation: the murderer, Courvoisier, who was hanged in that year for stabbing his master with a carving knife, confessed that the first idea for the murder came to him after reading Ainsworth's novel. The immediate effect of this, of course, was to boost the popularity of the plays but thereafter for many years further licenses to perform them were refused by the Lord Chamberlain. J.R.Stephens, in recording the history of this affair, writes:

The swaggering heroes of Newgate plays attacked the very fabric of Victorian society; they had small regard for property or for individuals, and few were daunted by the shadow of the gallows. Jack Sheppard, apparently the worst offender, was attacked more fiercely both by the licensers and responsible authority than perhaps any other drama of the mid-Victorian period. Its very popularity, especially amongst juvenile audiences, who could be so easily swayed by its false morality, was an index of the extent of the danger to society in general and the moral health of the theatre in particular.¹⁶

¹⁵ Bleackley, op.cit., p.99.

¹⁶ Stephens, "Jack Sheppard and the Licensers," Nineteenth Century Theatre Research, I (Spring 1973), 13.

J.K.Green, in translating this notorious piece into terms specifically designed for juvenile audiences, plainly had no such thing as their moral health in mind, and it is interesting to speculate whether any putative Courvoisier ever blamed his subsequent life of crime on having played with the Juvenile Drama version of Jack Sheppard.

Black Eyed Susan

Published in halfpenny sheets, 1840.

Not represented in The Sage Collection.

The Children in the Wood

Published in halfpenny sheets, 1840.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.19.

Earlier editions of this play had been published by Lloyd and Skelt. The Skelt edition is represented in The Sage Collection (Accession No.975.2.19), but since the Lloyd edition is not present it is not possible to free the Green edition from the suspicion of piracy and no examination of this play, therefore, will be attempted.

Rookwood, or, Turpin's Ride to York

Published in halfpenny sheets, April 15, 1840.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.65.

The complete play comprises:

10 Character plates (10)

21 Scene plates (19)

3 Wing plates (2)

Book (0)

Two earlier editions of this play had been published, both by Skelt: one in penny sheets and the other in halfpenny sheets. The latter is represented in The Sage Collection (Accession No.975.2.65) so that comparison with the Green edition is possible, and the comparison reveals many differences.

Original live productions of the play were based on Harrison Ainsworth's novel, Rookwood, published in May, 1834,¹ a gothic horror story onto which an account of Dick Turpin's ride to York had been grafted to provide an irrelevant though sensational interlude. It is evident from Green's characters and scenes that his version of the play followed the plot of the novel quite faithfully: all of the major characters and scenes are illustrated on his

¹ Blanchard, "Memoir of William Harrison Ainsworth," p.xiii.

plates. Skelt's version, however, is very different: the Rookwood plot is used merely to provide a frame to the main action which is Turpin's famous ride; none of the scenes associated with the house or vaults of the Rookwood family are used, and major characters such as Lady Rookwood and Peter Bradley are absent from his plates while new characters such as the Gudgeons (strangers to Ainsworth) are introduced. It seems clear that the two editions are based on different dramatizations of the novel, and it seems likely that the Skelt edition was based on a more equestrian-oriented performance.² Plainly, in this case Green could not have copied Skelt and his edition may

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The first dramatization of the novel appears, in fact, to have been performed at Astley's in June 1834: it was entitled The Gypsy Heir of Rookwood; or, Turpin's Ride to York (the London Times, June 2, 1834) and followed the publication of the novel by no more than a month. In the following year there was a production, again at Astley's of Milner's Turpin's Ride to York; or, Bonny Black Bess (Booth, English Melodrama, p.99). The character of Turpin and his equestrian feats were obviously the major points of interest in both these productions. In one of these early productions "the part of Dolly Gudgeon was taken by a Miss Goward" (Sherson, London's Lost Theatres, pp.61-2), and since the part of Dolly Gudgeon appears in Skelt's edition but not in Green's it seems likely that the Skelt edition (at least the one first issued in penny sheets) was based on an early Astley's spectacle. The halfpenny edition was probably a revised form of the earlier one issued a few years later in response to the revival of interest in the play that also produced Green's 1840 edition.

be regarded as an original work.

The only production of Rookwood contemporary to Green's edition that can be traced is that at Sadler's Wells in February, 1840. No script or review is available. There appear to have been two versions of the play produced at the Wells in that month, for Nicoll records both The Death Omen; or, The Wizard Tree by T.L.Greenwood, opening on February, 3,³ and Rookwood; or, The Legend of the Old Lime Tree by G.D.Pitt, opening on February 28.⁴ Dennis Arundell has described The Death Omen as a dramatization of Ainsworth's novel "complete with the ride to York" and mentions that Mr.Honner played Dick Turpin in the Wells' production.⁵ The explanation for two productions of the same play would seem to be as follows: that the success of Greenwood's recent Jack Sheppard at the Wells (see above, p.122) had prompted Greenwood to make a rather hasty dramatization of Ainsworth's other, earlier novel in order to capitalize on the craze for Ainsworth and his highwaymen, but that for some reason this new work was found unsatisfactory and Pitt was called in to rewrite the

³ Nicoll, A History of English Drama, IV, 321.

⁴ Ibid., IV, 373.

⁵ Arundell, The Story of Sadler's Wells, p.127.

play, change its title and make it generally more acceptable to the tastes of the Sadler's Wells public. Certainly both titles suggest that the main plot of Rookwood was kept well to the fore, and it seems highly likely that one of these two versions (probably the one by Pitt) provided Green with his model. It is interesting to note that, with his eye to the main attraction as far as his juvenile customers were concerned, Green changed the title of the play to place more emphasis on the ride to York but, in spite of this change, the publisher still illustrated all of the main characters and scenes appropriate to the main plot and does not seem to have allowed the attractiveness of the equestrian part of the play to affect the fidelity of his version in any other way.

As with Jack Sheppard, Ainsworth's novel, Rookwood, first appeared with illustrations by George Cruikshank. There are so many differences between Green and Cruikshank in this case however, that, with one exception, the possibility of Green copying Cruikshank directly must be dismissed. The exception, the scene at Hornsey Toll Gate, is so similar in each case, however, as to make it seem certain that Green was familiar with

Cruikshank's designs (Cf.Figs.55 & 56), and did copy this scene directly from the book illustrations though he copied none of the others.

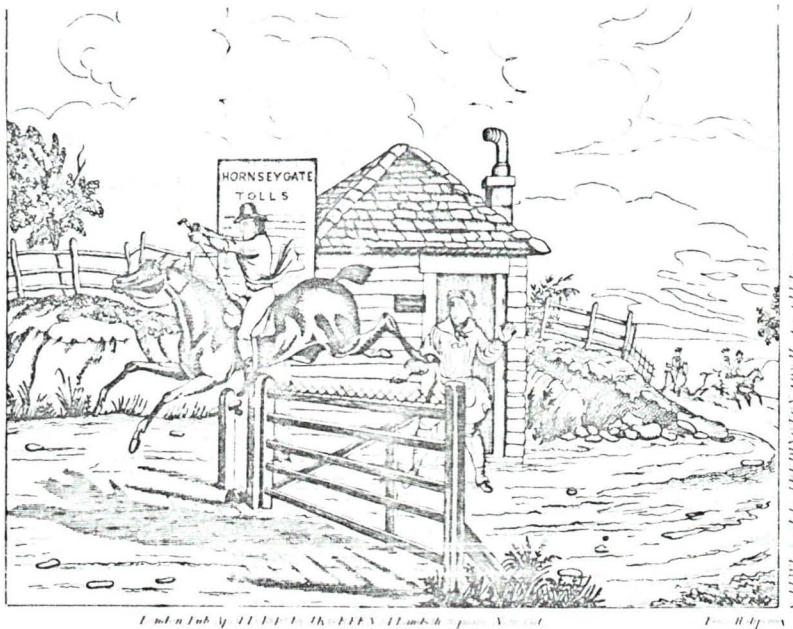


Fig.55

The costuming in Green's version of Rookwood is most interesting. The novel is set in the same historical period as Jack Sheppard (circa.1730) and yet Green's version appears to represent a production that was decidedly less consistent in its achievement of historical accuracy than that of Jack Sheppard. In Rookwood there is a tendency to hark back to the gothic or cavalier style of dress, at least for the more military or aristocratic characters, while the less glamorous characters are



Fig.56

dressed in more appropriate Eighteenth Century clothes (Cf.Figs.57 & 58). Meanwhile the familiar black dress,



Fig.57



Fig.58

this time with Tudor(?) puffed sleeves, still adorns the leading lady, Lady Rookwood (Fig.59), as it had her predecessors, Lady Margaret and Lady Trafford (Figs.32 & 54).



Fig.59

This regression in the consistency of costume design between Jack Sheppard and Rookwood suggests that Green himself was not costume-conscious: that he did not tamper with or "improve on" the designs he saw in the theatre but copied them faithfully; otherwise it might be expected that he would have drawn Rookwood in as consistent a style as Jack Sheppard. It might be possible to take this one step further and declare that, from the evidence of Green's plates, the costumes at Sadler's Wells in the 1839-40 season under Honner's management were lagging behind those of the South Bank theatres in respect of consistent historical accuracy. This was a situation that was soon to be altered quite drastically when Phelps took

over the management of the Wells a couple of years later.

The Waterman

Published in halfpenny sheets, November 21, 1840.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.87.

The complete play comprises:

2 Character plates (1)

? Scene plates (0)

? Wing plates (0)

Total number of plates: 6 (1)

Book (0)

One other contemporary edition of this play was published by Skelt. This edition is represented in the Sage Collection (Accession No.975.2.87) so that comparison with the Green edition is possible. In fact, Speaight has claimed that Green's edition of the play was copied and reversed from Skelt's,¹ but a comparison between the one sheet of Green's in the Sage Collection (Fig.60) and the corresponding one of Skelt's (Fig.61) does not really confirm this claim. Green shows a number of characters (the Mob, the Gardener with the rake, and the Gardeners' Wives) who do not appear on either of Skelt's character plates (both are in the Sage Collection), and the detail in some of the costumes and the shape of the table at which Tom Tug and Bundle are seated seem to be significantly

¹Speaight, The History of the English Toy Theatre, pp.49 & 186.

different in each version.



Fig. 60

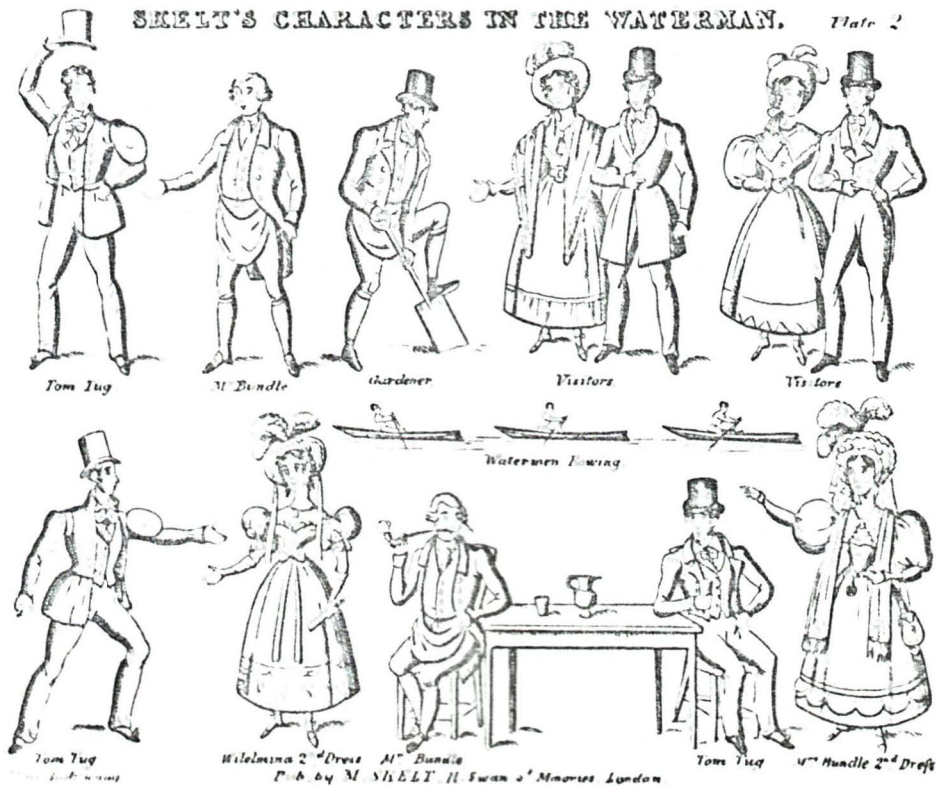


Fig. 61

Illustrated by C. HARRISS, 65, Bell Street, Edgware Road, Marylebone

An explanation for Speaight's claim may be that he based it on a comparison between Green's work and a copy by G.Conetta (G.Skelt), on the assumption that Conetta had been copying the original Skelt. An examination of the Conetta version (The Sage Collection, Accession No. 975.2.87), however, reveals that Conetta may well have copied from both Green and Skelt: his figures of Tom Tug and Bundle at the table (Fig.62), for example, are certainly much more like Green's than Skelt's.

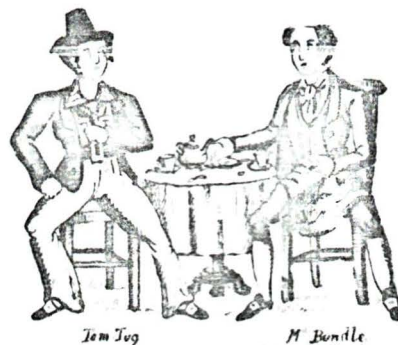


Fig.62

In the absence of more of Green's plates it is not really possible to elucidate this problem satisfactorily. Certainly the similarities between the Green and Skelt sheets are such as to indicate that one may well have had an influence on the other, but Green did not copy Skelt slavishly and the most likely explanation for the similarities is that the two publishers merely copied the

same production. It is impossible to say which production that could have been. The Waterman was an extremely popular little comedy by Charles Dibdin which had been performed originally at the Haymarket as early as 1774.² In view of the countless revivals of the piece and the shortage of plates from the Green version in The Sage Collection no further examination of this play can be attempted.

² Nicoll, A History of English Drama, III, 202.

Aladdin

Published in halfpenny sheets, January 1, 1841.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.6.

Earlier editions of this play had been published by Hawley, Jameson, Hebbard, West, Perkins, Hodgson, Allen, O.Hodgson, Straker, Lloyd, and Skelt. The Skelt edition is represented in The Sage Collection (Accession No.975.2.6) but since the other editions are not present it is not possible to free the Green edition from the suspicion of piracy¹ and no examination of this play, therefore, will be attempted.

The Maid and the Magpie

Published in halfpenny sheets, 1841.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.47.

Earlier editions of this play had been published by West, Jameson, Hodgson, O.Hodgson, Lloyd, Skelt and Park. The Skelt and Park editions are represented in The Sage Collection (Accession No.975.2.47) but since the other editions are not present it is not possible to free

¹ Speaight claims that Green's edition was copied from O. Hodgson's (The History of the English Toy Theatre, pp.49 & 186), but since the latter is not represented in The Sage Collection it is not possible to verify this.

the Green edition from the suspicion of piracy and no examination of this play, therefore, will be attempted.

The Silver Palace

Published in halfpenny sheets, September 5, 1841.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.108.

Earlier editions of this play had been published by Dyer, and Skelt. The Skelt edition is represented in The Sage Collection (Accession No.975.2.108) but since the Dyer edition is not present it is not possible to free the Green edition from the suspicion of piracy and no examination of this play, therefore, will be attempted.¹

¹Speaight has brought to light an interesting fact about Green's text for this play: he has identified some of the lines as being "lifted with slight verbal modifications, from Pope's translation of the Iliad" ("Pope in the Toy Theatre", Theatre Notebook, VIII, April-June 1953, 62-63). These lines are not the same as those in the original acting edition, apparently.

The Castle of Otranto; or, Harlequin and the
Giant Helmet - pantomime

Published in halfpenny sheets, December 25, 1841.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.89.

The complete play comprises:

8 Character plates (4)
10 Scene plates (9)
2 Trick plates (1)
4 Wing plates (2)

Book (0)

No earlier editions of this pantomime had been published; it is original to Green.

Only one contemporary production of this pantomime is on record: at Covent Garden, opening on December 26, 1840. This production was advertised in the London Times as "a grand romantic legendary burlesque and comic Christmas pantomime,"¹ its frame plot being based on a burlesque of Horace Walpole's archetypal gothic horror novel which had itself already provided material for melodramas for several decades. Nicoll records the pantomime under the names of both J.R.Planche and W.Bradwell,² they were presumably collaborators in the work. No script

¹The London Times, December 26, 1840.

²Nicoll, A History of English Drama, IV, 381 & 573.

is available, but the production received a long and fascinating review in the London Times.³ From the details provided by this review there can be little doubt that Green's version was based on the Covent Garden production, for the description and sequence of scenes, tricks and characters matches exactly those plates held in The Sage Collection.

Green's first pantomime, Harlequin Guy Fawkes represented something of a turning point in the history of the genre (see above p.97). In The Castle of Otranto the changes that were taking place can be observed even more clearly. The Times review begins:

Pantomimes are not what they used to be. The difference is not merely one of degree, but of kind... The same means are no longer employed to attract applause... The adventures of the four characters of pantomime are no longer the staple commodity of the piece, they rather act as the threads to connect a number of works by the scene-painter and the mechanic.⁴

³The London Times, December 28, 1840.

The members of the cast mentioned in this review are as follows:

Miss Glover as Romance,
 S.Smith as Burlesque,
 Mr.Payne as Manfred,
 C.J.Smith as Harlequin,
 T.Ridgway as Clown,
 Mr.Morelli as Pantaloon,
 Miss Fairbrother as Columbine,
 Master Marshall as A Page (transformed into a tiger).

⁴Ibid.

The new pantomimes were offering the magical and spectacular transformation of scenes and tricks in place of the clowning and satire of earlier days (clowning associated primarily with the genius of Grimaldi), and apparently the Clown (T.Ridgway) in The Castle of Otranto was soon forgotten by his audience "amid admiration for mechanised ingenuity and dioramic paintings".⁵ Nevertheless, The Castle of Otranto was a very successful pantomime (hence Green's interest in it) and it ran for fifty-five nights.⁶

The Times commented:

Of the new school, it is a most splendid pantomime, and we do not believe that one has ever been produced with such undeviating elegance, with such elaborate mechanical contrivances. Those who come to laugh heartily may probably feel a temporary disappointment but this must soon give place to a feeling of unmixed gratification at the taste and splendour displayed to them.⁷

The Juvenile Drama can hardly hope to reproduce the full splendour of those gorgeous scenes, of course, but Green's version of the final tableau showing "Neptune rising in a

⁵Two years later Punch was to sum up this change of emphasis as follows: "scenery hath superseded fun - Stanfield is the successor of Grimaldi - Grieve (we say it with tears in our eyes) replaces Bologna." Punch, Vol.II, 1842, p.22.

⁶Saxe Wyndham, The Annals of Covent Garden Theatre, II, 155.

⁷The London Times, December 28, 1840.

car from the water"⁸ (Fig.63) illustrates to some extent how elaborate they must have been, although even here Green has been forced by the limitations of his medium to omit that part of the scene representing Britannia "standing triumphant in the celestial regions".⁹

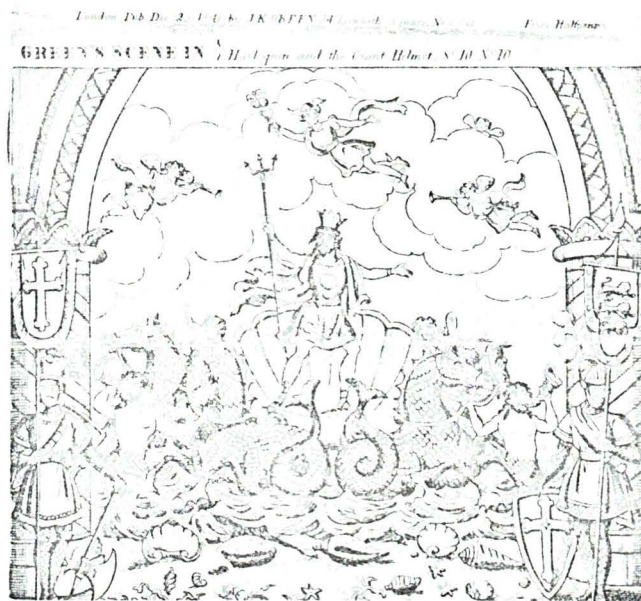


Fig.63

One of Grimaldi's great talents had been in the improvisation of trick effects through purely manual means with common, everyday objects, but now the tricks as well as the scenes were of a more spectacular and mechanical nature. Many of the tricks described in the Times review

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

are, in a simplified form, illustrated by Green, including the most successful of the trick scenes in the pantomime. According to the Times, the fun in this scene ("Furnished Lodgings") consisted in:

the gradual progress made from a well-furnished room to bare walls, under the influence of Harlequin's wand, to the great annoyance of the two lodgers [Clown and Pantaloon]. Chair after chair slips through the wall or the floor, fire-irons find their way up the chimney... [etc.]¹⁰

Not a great deal of the trickwork appears to have been practical in Green's version of the scene (Fig.64) but nevertheless a very accurate impression of the trick room appears to have been achieved.

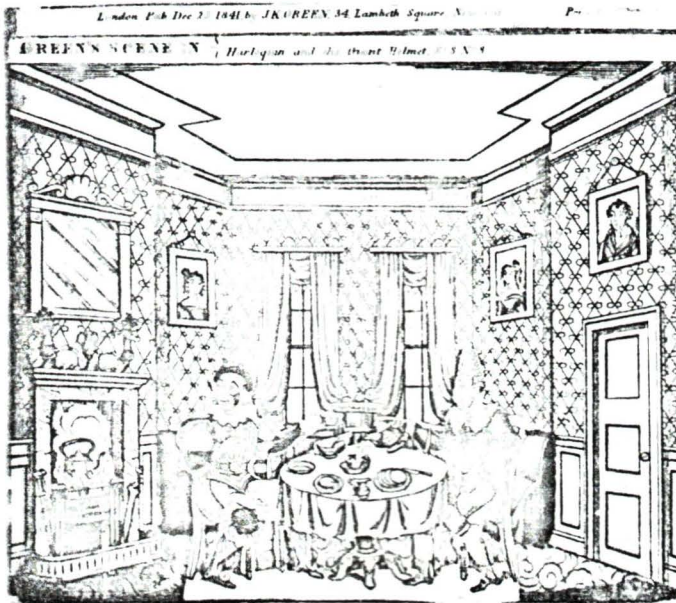


Fig.64

¹⁰ Ibid.

The costumes illustrated by Green, in this as in all his pantomimes, are unremarkable; although among the "big head" masks of the opening burlesque Manfred's (Fig.65) is most intriguing. The Times described it thus:

Manfred's cruelty is symbolised by a most evil countenance, some two feet long, which, by the ingenious construction of the mask, can be elongated to twice its length, to express any extraordinary emotion, and also by a furious red wig.¹¹

It is to be regretted that on the sheets held in The Sage Collection Green has illustrated the mask of this latter-day Herod in its contracted form only.



Fig.65

¹¹
Ibid.

The Woodman's Hut

Published in halfpenny sheets (incomplete), 1841.

Not represented in The Sage Collection.

Blue Jackets; or, Her Majesty's Service

Published in halfpenny sheets, April 15, 1842.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.80.

The complete play comprises:

4 Character plates (4)

3 Scene plates (3)

2 Wing plates (1)

Book (1)

No earlier edition of this play had been published; it is original to Green.

Blue Jackets, a nautical burletta by E.Stirling, was first produced at the Adelphi on October 15, 1838.¹ It was not published by Green until nearly four years later, and so it cannot be at all certain that this Adelphi production was, in fact, his model. The Duncombe edition of the Stirling play, however, was clearly the model for Green's script, and no other contemporary productions of the piece can be traced. A Times review of the original

¹ Nicoll, A History of English Drama, IV, 406.

production mentions that it was "announced... for continual repetition, amidst an unanimity of applause"² and so it seems possible that the play had become something of an old favourite as an afterpiece and was still appearing from time to time on the bills of the Adelphi or some other theatre when Green decided to immortalise it in the Juvenile Drama. Whichever production Green saw, it was plainly very similar to the original at the Adelphi, however. The costumes (mostly nautical uniforms) and sets were so simple that there could have been little opportunity for much variation from theatre to theatre, and an engraving in the Duncombe edition representing a scene on the main-deck of the "Bombshell" at the Adelphi appears very similar to the equivalent scene in Green's version (Scene 3), although not sufficient detail is visible on the former to make a close comparison possible.

The reason for the burletta's initial success is not difficult to see. The leading role of Fanny Trunnion was played at the Adelphi by the delightful Mrs.Honey. The play was probably written as a vehicle for this lady and she may well have kept it in her repertoire at whatever

² The London Times, October 16, 1838.

theatres she later appeared. The piece featured a whole bevy of young ladies who, together with Fanny and her maid Betsy, disguise themselves in sailors' uniforms in order to board a ship and attempt to rescue Fanny's imprisoned lover. As the Times reviewer so aptly put it, the plot was "such as is only to be met with on the stage".³ The disguises, of course, offered ample opportunity for comedy and the piece could hardly have failed to appeal to an audience whose patriotic love of all things nautical could only have been equalled by a timeless regard for feminine charms. The high point of the original production was apparently "a capital hornpipe by the ladies"⁴ and this early Victorian "chorus line" is well illustrated by Green (Fig.66)



Fig.66

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

It is worth pointing out one feature of Green's drawing of this hornpipe that is not in fact mentioned by his abbreviated script but which was mentioned in the Stirling original: that is the Union Jacks carried by the dancers. That Green thought it worthwhile to draw the flags seems to be evidence for a concern for accuracy that went beyond merely providing the bare minimum of characters and properties necessary to a satisfactory toy performance of the play.

The Battle of Waterloo

Published in halfpenny sheets, June 18, 1842.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.9.

Earlier editions of this play had been published by West, Hodgson and Skelt. The Skelt edition is represented in The Sage Collection (Accession No.975.2.9) but since the other editions are not present it is not possible to free the Green edition from the suspicion of piracy and no examination of the play, therefore, will be attempted.

Harlequin and Riddle-me, Riddle-me-ree; or, You can't guess what this may be - pantomime

Published in halfpenny sheets, December 25, 1842.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.99.

The complete play comprises:

8 Character plates (2)
12 Scene plates (11)
2 Trick plates (0)
4 Wing plates (2)

Book (1)

No earlier edition of this pantomime had been published; it is original to Green.

On the title sheet of this pantomime is printed the following: "Invented and Written by Mr.NELSON LEE, as Performed at the Royal Olympic Theatre, with great success for 55 nights". Nicoll writes: "Nelson Lee's productivity was enormous; often three or four Christmas pantomimes from his pen appeared in the same year at different theatres",¹ but why Green should have broken with his normal practice and made a particular reference to author and theatre in this way is something of a mystery. Green was publishing the pantomime a year after its original performance so that he can hardly have been hoping to take

¹Nicoll, A History of English Drama, IV, 342.

advantage of some kind of topical appeal associated with that particular production. Since the publisher did the same thing the following year with Lee's Harlequin Robin Hood at the Queen's Theatre (see below, p.178) it would seem that he had temporarily made an arrangement (with Lee himself rather than with the theatre managements) whereby the author granted copyright permission on the condition that his name be mentioned on the sheets. This theory seems confirmed by the fact that Lee's name is printed in upper case lettering and thus given prominence over the name of the theatre.

There is little information about this pantomime, although it was certainly performed at the Olympic as stated by Green at Christmas, 1841.² From Green's version it would seem that the story line of the pantomime was little more than a sequence of riddles and conundrums and, resembling as it does a party game rather than a theatrical display (see, for example, Fig.67), it may be a mistake to assume that this bears as strong a resemblance to its stage original as others of Green's plays.

² Ibid., IV, 595.

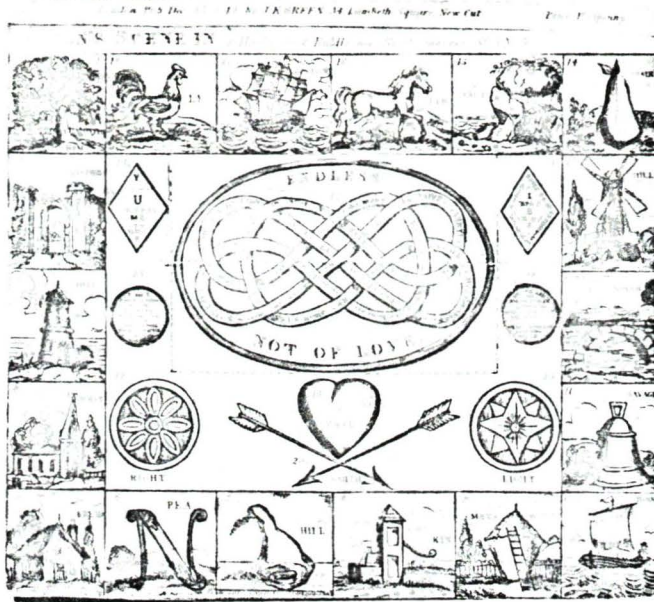


Fig.67

Certainly if this pantomime did reflect its original faithfully then it would provide evidence for a trend away from the literary and social satires of earlier pantomimes towards a form more expressly designed for the entertainment of children, but it is possible that it was Green only and not the live theatre that was effecting this change, and indeed a reviewer in Punch applauded Riddle-me-ree as retaining much of the "real genuine smack of the legitimate school".³

If Punch's assessment is to be accepted, the reason for this pantomime's success was largely due to the

³ Punch, Vol.II, 1842, p.22.

Clown of the show who was played by Tom Mathews (Fig.68). Grimaldi's famous "mantle" had fallen, if anywhere, on Mathews' shoulders and he was undoubtedly the most popular Clown of the early Victorian stage. It is difficult to describe any Clown's peculiar genius and Mathews' is no exception. Punch, for example, wrote: "Hurry-skurry, tumbles, stealing, fighting, dancing, are in his line..."⁴ while Sir F.C.Burnand, a one-time editor of Punch, seems to contradict this impression with: "He waddled about bow-legged, did no acrobatic tricks, never danced..."⁵ Green's script and drawing of the Clown in Riddle-me-ree, unfortunately offer no clue as to the true nature of Mathews' talent, although he would appear to have been capable of at least one simple acrobatic feat (Fig.69).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Burnand, Sir F.C., Records and Reminiscences, cited by A.E.Wilson, in King Panto, p.106.

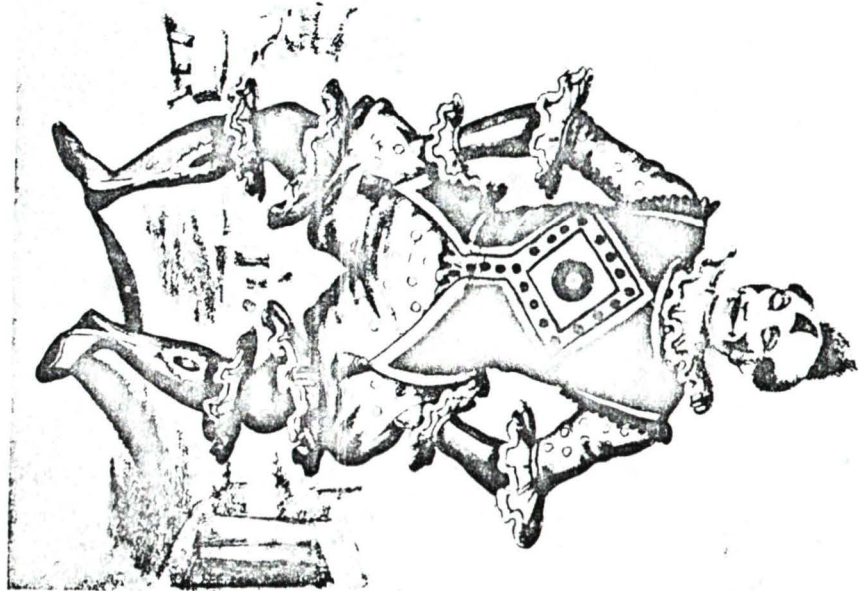


Fig. 68

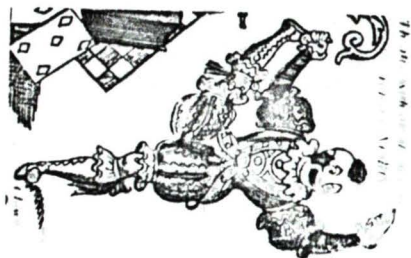


Fig. 69

Polly Put the Kettle On; or, Harlequin Robin Hood
and the Magic Cat - pantomime

Published in halfpenny sheets, December 26, 1843.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.100.

The complete play comprises:

- 8 Character plates (1)
- 12 Scene plates (7)
- 2 Trick plates (0)
- 4 Wing plates (1)
- Book (0)

No earlier edition of this pantomime had been published; it is original to Green.

On the title plate of this pantomime Green has printed: "Written and invented by Mr.NELSON LEE, & Performed at the Queen's Theatre". Green has also given the names of some of the actors, as follows: Pantaloon, Mr.Linch; Sprite, Mr.Leman; Robin Hood, afterwards Harlequin, Mr.M.Ellar;¹ Clown, Mr.Fuller. Lee's name was presumably printed for the same reason that it had been a year earlier for Riddle-me-ree (see above, p.173). The reason for giving the actors' names remains impenetrable: it may have been part of the same agreement with Lee, or the result of a separate arrangement made with the theatre management.

¹M.Ellar is not to be confused with another Harlequin: the more famous Tom Ellar who had been a contemporary of Grimaldi.

No further information about this pantomime is available;² it is not recorded by Nicoll and no advertisement was placed for it in the London Times. If it is assumed that Green was following his normal practice and published the pantomime a year after its actual appearance on the stage, this would mean that the show was first performed at the Queen's Theatre at Christmas 1842.

The Queen's Theatre has an interesting history and, although it was situated some miles from Green's own home, may well have appealed to him as a likely source of material for the Juvenile Drama. In 1842 the theatre was in the hands of Mr.C.S.James, a scenic artist,³ and under his management the reputation of the house sank to such a low level that it acquired an unenviable name as "The Dust Hole". This name remained with the theatre until it was rescued from obscurity by the Bancrofts in 1865 and became The Prince of Wales'. One of James' earliest deeds at "The Dust Hole" was to lower seat prices to 2s, 1s.and 6d.

² A.E.Wilson, in Pantomime Pageant, p.34, cites a remark by John Coleman in The Graphic, 1892, stating that the Clown in a production of Polly Put the Kettle On during the 1840s was played by Flexmore. Flexmore was only 16 years old in 1842 so that the possibility of this having been the Queen's production seems remote.

³ It seems reasonable to assume that the scenes drawn by Green for this pantomime are copies of scenes painted by C.S.James himself.

He later lowered them again to 1s/6d, 8d and 4d, with half prices to the boxes and the pit.⁴ With prices such as these and a tendency to produce the more lurid and extravagant kind of melodramas, it seems likely that in the early 1840s the Queen's became a popular haunt of the younger kind of audience. Hence its appeal to Green.

In the absence of a script there is little more that can be said about this particular pantomime: how the legend of Robin Hood could ever have been intertwined with a tale about a magic cat and a magic parrot (complete with kettle) must be left to the imagination.

Therese

Published in halfpenny sheets, December 26, 1845.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.72.

Earlier editions of this play had been published by Straker, Lloyd, and Skelt, but since none of these are present in The Sage Collection it is not possible to free the Green edition from the suspicion of piracy and no examination of this play, therefore, will be attempted.

⁴ Baker, History of the London Stage, pp.316-18.

The Forest of Bondy

Published in halfpenny sheets, December 26, 1846.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.31.¹

Earlier editions of this play had been published by West, Jameson, Hodgson, Allen, Dyer and Skelt. The Skelt edition is represented in The Sage Collection (Accession No.975.2.31) but since none of the others are present it is not possible to free the Green edition from the suspicion of piracy and no examination of this play, therefore, will be attempted.

The Flying Dutchman

Published in halfpenny sheets, December 27, 1847.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.30.

Earlier editions of this play had been published by Jameson, Bailey, Straker, Lloyd and Dyer, but since none of these are represented in The Sage Collection it is not possible to free the Green edition from the suspicion of piracy and no examination of this play, therefore, will be attempted.

¹On the front cover of the book of words to this play can be discerned the legend "The Original Inventor and Publisher of Juvenile Theatrical Prints. Established 1808". This is the only example of Green's claim to fame held in The Sage Collection. For further comment see above, p.62.

Harlequin St. George - pantomime

Published in halfpenny sheets, December 27, 1847.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.101.

The complete play comprises:

? Character plates (1)
17 Scene plates (16)
? Trick plates (0)
? Wing plates (2)

Total number of plates: 32 (19)
Book (0)

No earlier editions of this pantomime had been published; it is original to Green.

St. George and the Dragon was the pantomime offered at Drury Lane at Christmas, 1846. A scene-by-scene description in an advertisement in the London Times¹ and a review in the same paper² both suggest that this production was the model for Green's version, since the

¹The London Times, December 26, 1846.

The cast of the Drury Lane production included the following:

Mr.Horncastle as Kalyba,
Miss Annie Payne as The March of Intellect,
Mr.W.H.Payne as St.George,
Mr.Wieland as The Dragon,
Mr.Howell as Harlequin,
Miss Hicks as Columbine,
Mr.T.Mathews as Clown,
Mr.Priorson as Pantaloon.

²Ibid., December 28, 1846.

sequence and detail of the scenes is identical. No script of the original pantomime, nor of Green's version, is available, however, and the author or authors of the original are unknown.

The review in the Times opened with a familiar remark: "Pantomime is no longer what it used to be". Evidently this was an annual lament as predictable as the appearance every Boxing Day of the pantomimes themselves. On this occasion the main complaint was at the apparent lack of care and interest bestowed on the preparation of the show, and at the lack of innocent relish displayed by the audiences. Against the first of these two criticisms, however, should be balanced a comment in the Illustrated London News which described the pantomime as "beyond all question the most gorgeous"³ of the season. Another complaint of the Times reviewer was that the first part of the show (that part in which the plot was developed) was "decidedly too long" and trying to the patience of an

³ The Illustrated London News, January 2, 1847. An engraving in this edition illustrated Mr. Payne as St. George and Mr. Wieland as The Dragon in Scene 8, outside the dragon's lair. Green's version of this scene, however, was a stock scene which had been previously issued as early as 1836, and his characters of St. George and The Dragon are not present in The Sage Collection, so that no comparison with this engraving is possible.

audience who were only waiting, as ever, for the transformation scene and the arrival of the Clown (Tom Mathews) and his partners of the harlequinade. In the absence of Grimaldi (whose memory was inevitably invoked on such occasions) the harlequinade was evidently losing ground to the more dramatic opening section which was better fashioned to make use of the comic talents of more conventional actors. The harlequinade was eventually to disappear entirely from the framework of "traditional" pantomime.

The scenery for the Drury Lane production of St. George was, according to the Times, by Grieve and Telbin: both extremely distinguished scene-painters. There is no means of assessing the degree of fidelity achieved by Green to this scenery, but he does seem to have attempted reproductions of all but one⁴ of the scenes listed in the Times advertisement. The only descriptive comment on the scenery made by the Times reviewer was to the effect that Coventry Castle in Scene 3 looked "like an old frame house of two stories high and no more".⁵

⁴ Scene 12: Siamese villas and Nursery-ground.

⁵ The London Times, December 28, 1846.

This appears to have been a deliberate distortion intended by the scene-painters and certainly Green's version (Fig.70) does nothing to contradict the description.

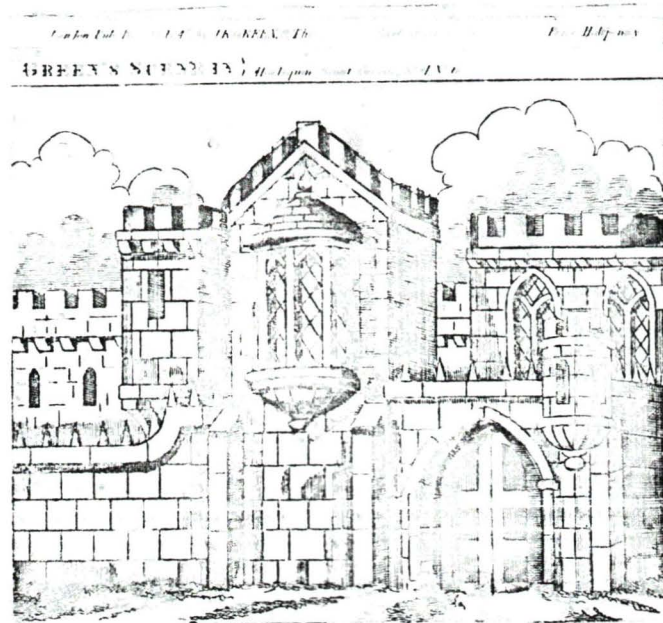


Fig.70

Timour the Tartar

Published in halfpenny sheets, 1849.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.74.

Earlier editions of this play had been published by Jameson, West, Hodgson, J.L.Marks, Allen, Skelt, Park and Webb, but since none of these are represented in The Sage Collection it is not possible to free the Green edition from the suspicion of piracy¹ and no examination of this play, therefore, will be attempted.

Cinderella

Published in halfpenny sheets, April 15, 1849.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.83.

One earlier edition of this play had been published by Heberd, but since this is not represented in The Sage Collection it is not possible to free the Green edition from the suspicion of piracy and no examination of this play, therefore, will be attempted.

¹ Speaight has claimed that Green's edition was copied and reversed from Skelt's (The History of the English Toy Theatre, p.186) but since the latter is not present in The Sage Collection it is not possible to verify this.

Sleeping Beauty in the Wood; or, Harlequin and the
Magic Horn - pantomime

Published in halfpenny sheets, December 26, 1850.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.107.

The complete play comprises:

8 Character plates (8)
12 Scene plates (12)
2 Trick plates (2)
4 Wing plates (1)

Book (1)

No earlier edition of this pantomime had been published; it is original to Green.

A number of actors' names are given on the character plates of this pantomime. They are: Mr.Harrison as The Ogre Frosty Toes, afterwards Clown; Mr.Ambrook as Prince Charming, afterwards Harlequin; Miss C.Gibson as Princess Beauty, afterwards Columbine; Mr.Gellene as Stepandfchet, afterwards Pantaloon; and Miss Spiller as Rainbow. Having given these names Green might be expected to have identified the author and theatre as well, but such do not appear on the plates in The Sage Collection. Since these are only Pollock reprints in this case, however, it seems possible that the additional information was obliterated by Pollock when he re-engraved the plates with

his own name (see above, pp.80-81). The author and theatre are not difficult to trace, however, for Nicoll records only one production of the pantomime contemporary with Green's version: this was at the Queen's in December, 1849, and was written by the theatre's manager, C.S.James.¹ In view of the fact that Green had already reproduced at least one other pantomime (Polly Put the Kettle On) from this theatre while it was under James' management, and had also on that occasion identified the actors involved,

¹ Nicoll, A History of English Drama, IV, 330.

One other, more famous version of The Sleeping Beauty deserves to be mentioned here: that is the extravaganza by J.R.Planché at Covent Garden in 1840 (Ibid., IV, 381). Not unlike a pantomime, although it contained no harlequinade, and placed more emphasis on spectacle, it was Planché's brand of extravaganza that was to have a great influence on the later development of pantomimes, encouraging the extension of the opening section and leading to the ultimate disappearance of the harlequinade altogether (Mayer, Harlequin in His Element, p.309). It seems not unlikely that James' version of The Sleeping Beauty was somewhat influenced by Planché's since (even allowing for the inevitable imbalance inherent in the Juvenile Drama form) there is in Green's reproduction a far greater percentage of scenes devoted to the opening than to the harlequinade: a ratio of 10:3 (10:4 in the Pollock reprint). This should be seen in contrast to a ratio of 6:5 in Green's first pantomime, Harlequin Guy Fawkes, of fourteen years earlier.

it seems most likely that his Sleeping Beauty was another reproduction from the infamous "Dust Hole". This seems to be confirmed by the presence in the pantomime company of Miss C.Gibson who appears again on Green's plates in his very next play, Belphegor the Conjurer: a play which was almost certainly a Queen's production since the theatre's name is in this case printed boldly on Green's title plate (see below, p.192). In view of the reputation and cheapness of the theatre, it is hardly surprising that no reviews or advertisements appeared for Sleeping Beauty in the Times. As a result, little more can be said about the production with certainty. The scenery, however, appears to have been quite elaborate and bears some resemblance in style to that of Polly Put the Kettle On, suggesting that the same artist, presumably James himself, was responsible for the scenery in both shows.

James' original script is not available, and the only script in The Sage Collection is one published by Pollock. It is not certain whether Pollock reprinted Green's own script exactly, for he appears to have inserted at least one additional scene of his own (Scene 11). Pollock may have done this to bring the juvenile version

into line with some later revival of the pantomime on the London stage, but he did not add any written dialogue for the new scene and no other changes appear to have been made to Green's original number of character and scene plates.² It seems likely, therefore, that Pollock's script is in every other way identical to Green's. If this is so, then it must be remarked how many superfluous characters there seem to be on the plates: all related to the harlequinade which takes up less than a page of the Pollock script. There are, in fact, thirteen characters not otherwise needed who are merely required to "cross stage and exit" in Scene 13. It is quite understandable that the script for the harlequinade should have been considerably abbreviated, since much of the acrobatic and comic by-play, tricks and dances are impossible to reproduce in the Juvenile Drama, but evidently Green must have been loth to abandon the many colourful characters who appeared in this part of the pantomime: they were, no doubt, the most popular features of the show as far as the

²The total number of plates for any of Green's plays can be found on the backs of his books of words where his entire stock is listed. In the case of Sleeping Beauty, although he has added a scene of his own, Pollock has not changed the number of plates as they are listed on the title plate, recording twelve scene plates whereas in fact he published thirteen.

children were concerned. The presence of these characters on Green's plates, therefore, seems to be evidence for a concern for fidelity to his original that went well beyond merely making a workable toy or simply copying as many characters as were needed to satisfy the requirements of an abbreviated script.

Belphegor the Conjuror [sic.]

Published in halfpenny sheets, April 15, 1851.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.10.

The complete play comprises:

6 Character plates (5)
6 Scene plates (6)
2 Wing plates (0)

Book (1)

No earlier edition of this play had been published; it is original to Green.

Belphegor was another of those melodramas "taken from the French". In its original form it had been Dennery and Fournier's Paillasse, the title role of which had been created by Frédérick Lemaître in Paris in November, 1850.¹ Lemaître brought the original to London in 1852 but by

¹Baldick, The Life and Times of Frédérick Lemaître, p.212.

that time London audiences had already had the opportunity of seeing a number of English imitations under the title of Belphegor. Nicoll lists the following productions in London during January 1851: Belphegor the Mountebank, by B.N.Webster, at the Adelphi; Belphegor the Itinerant, by J.Courtney, at the Surrey; and Belphegor the Buffoon, by T.H.Higgie, at the Victoria.² There was also a production of Belphegor the Mountebank at the City of London Theatre during the same month.³ Green, however, took his version from none of these, but from a production, not listed by Nicoll, at the Queen's. At least it is this theatre which is named on Green's title sheet, while the names of almost the entire cast of actors and actresses are also given on this and subsequent sheets. Again, it must be assumed that this was done by arrangement with the manager of the theatre, C.S.James. Green gives no author's name.

Frank Rahill writes of Paillasse:

The fat part in this play was that of the father, Belphegor, a clown; and the big moment - or, rather, the biggest of the many big moments - is the scene in the

² Nicoll, A History of English Drama, VI, 38.

³ Williams, M., Some London Theatres Past and Present, p.60.

second act when... he returns joyfully to his humble attic with a gay shawl for his wife ... He discovers that she has deserted him, and he takes his child in his arms and breaks into a prolonged scene of hysterical grief... No contemporary audience was able to resist that celebrated piece of business as put over by the giants of the Romantic school of melodramatic acting - Lemaître, Fechter, and Charles Dillon particularly.⁴

This scene appears in Green's script as the following:

Bel: Am I asleep? Or is my brain turning?
Gone. She's gone, Henri, to find her
rich relations. Oh, Henri, I have
no-one now but you in the world. Henri,
I'm choking.

Hen: Father, father! Oh, mother, have you
killed him? I hate and detest you.

Bel: No, child, no. Let us pray for her.
Pray, pray.⁵

The characters are then drawn off and replaced in the tableau illustrated in Fig.71.

This is not very different from the equivalent scene in any of the versions of the play written by Webster, Courtney or Higgin, and so it must be assumed

⁴ Rahill, The World of Melodrama, p.97.

⁵ From the script of Belphegor in The Sage Collection. This is a typed copy, presumably by Mr. Sage himself, and there are many typing errors in it. There seems to have been an effort made to copy Green's script verbatim, however, and so this extract, which has been purged of Mr. Sage's more obvious errors, may be regarded as reasonably accurate.

The popularity of the play owed a great deal to the sensational rendering of the chief part by Edmund Kean, first seen in London in 1815, and even Green's edition, published many years after his death seems to reproduce the costumes and settings made familiar by Kean and his imitators of the romantic school...

.....
 ... The text used by Green... was not Shakespeare's but the adaptation by Colly Cibber...

.....
 ... Green cut only one character and preserved every one of Cibber's scenes, though he drastically shortened them... In general Green keeps to the original text, though it is printed as prose and the scansion is occasionally lost. His favourite method was to take the opening two lines and the final two lines of a scene, and as little as possible in between.¹

Speaight seems to feel that in terms of the scenes and characters Green was faithful, if not to a specific production of Richard III, at least to a general style of presentation "that might have been seen at minor theatre Shakespearean productions during the first half of the 19th century".² This is not, of course, an adequate appraisal of the fidelity issue but is typical of the manner in which it has been approached by Speaight and others hitherto.

Speaight's comments about Green's method of cutting his text can be confirmed by examination of some

¹Speaight, "Richard the Third" - notes to the reprinted edition of the play by Benjamin Pollock Ltd.

²Ibid.

other scripts in The Sage Collection. It is, on the whole, as desirable a method of cutting as is possible under the circumstances since it leaves the shape, if not the texture of each play, intact.

Blackbeard the Pirate

Published in halfpenny sheets, November 18, 1851.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.11.

Earlier editions of this play had been published by West and Hodgson, but since these are not present in The Sage Collection it is not possible to free the Green edition from the suspicion of piracy and no examination of this play, therefore, will be attempted.

Mary the Maid of the Inn

Published in halfpenny sheets, July 1, 1852.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.49.

Earlier editions of this play had been published by West, Jameson, Edwards, Hodgson, Dyer, Lloyd and Skelt. The Skelt edition is represented in The Sage Collection (Accession No.975.2.49) but since the other editions are not present it is not possible to free the Green edition from the suspicion of piracy and no examination of this play, therefore, will be attempted.

Harlequin and Oliver Cromwell - pantomime

Published in halfpenny sheets, December 26, 1852.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.98.

The complete play comprises:

- ? Character plates (2)
- ? Scene plates (9)
- ? Trick plates (0)
- ? Wing plates (2)

Total number of plates: 27 (13)

Book (0)

No earlier editions of this pantomime had been published; it is original to Green.

Harlequin and Oliver Cromwell was another pantomime from the prolific pen of Nelson Lee, who wrote this particular piece for The City of London Theatre in Norton-Folgate.¹ Lee and Mr.J.Johnson were co-proprietors of the theatre at this time and M.Williams writes:

... to these gentlemen belonged the uncommon merit of conducting the City of London Theatre for a term extending over many years, not only with credit and respectability, but with pecuniary results satisfactory to themselves... The remarkable excellence of Mr.Nelson Lee's pantomimes was...[a]... feature which served to bring the house into notice...²

¹ Nicoll, A History of English Drama, VI, 372.

² Williams, M., Some London Theatres Past and Present, pp.58-59.

The title plate of the pantomime is missing from The Sage Collection, but it is to be imagined that, as before, Lee's name was mentioned thereon by Green.

Oliver Cromwell; or, Harlequin Charley over the water and the Maid of Patty's Mill was apparently a "very clever pantomime" and it drew a favourable, though brief review from the Illustrated London News.³ The opening section had for its subject the escape of King Charles II from Oliver Cromwell after the battle of Worcester and the famous concealment in an oak tree. This was intertwined with a story about the wooing of Kitty Clover, the maid of the mill, by Young Charley, the miller's apprentice, and the whole was rounded off by the traditional harlequinade. The oak tree, although apparently a prominent object in the opening, is not featured among the plates in The Sage Collection and there are not enough plates available to make it possible to arrive at any conclusions about Green's fidelity to his original.

³The Illustrated London News, December 27, 1851. The actors mentioned in this review were as follows: Mr.A.Stevens as Young Charley, afterwards Harlequin, Miss Rose King as Kitty, afterwards Columbine, Mr.George Parry as Charles, afterwards Clown, Mr.Morelli as Oliver Cromwell, afterwards Pantaloon, The Nicolo Family as Three Sprites.

There is one interesting feature of this pantomime, however, and that is Green's Scene 12 on which he illustrates the shop-front of none other than J.Redington, his agent and successor (Fig.78). Redington's shop was



Fig.78

probably Green's main retail outlet during the 1850s (Green did not, apparently, ever sell plays from a shop of his own) and advertisements are visible for a number of Green's plays on the front of the shop. Without a script of the original pantomime it is difficult to say whether such a scene did actually appear in Lee's show: it seems unlikely, and more probable that the scene was merely a piece of blatant advertising on Green's part. Redington

was not Green's only agent but it is quite understandable why this particular shop should have been featured in this way for, of all Green's agents, Redington was actually located the closest to the City of London Theatre. It is doubtful whether this was a very accurate rendering of Redington's shop front. Redington himself used the same advertising device a few years later in his own Juvenile Drama version of Harlequin Baron Munchausen⁴ (Fig.79) and in this case Green and his play titles are missing while the windows are much more realistically packed with the printseller's amazing selection of wares.

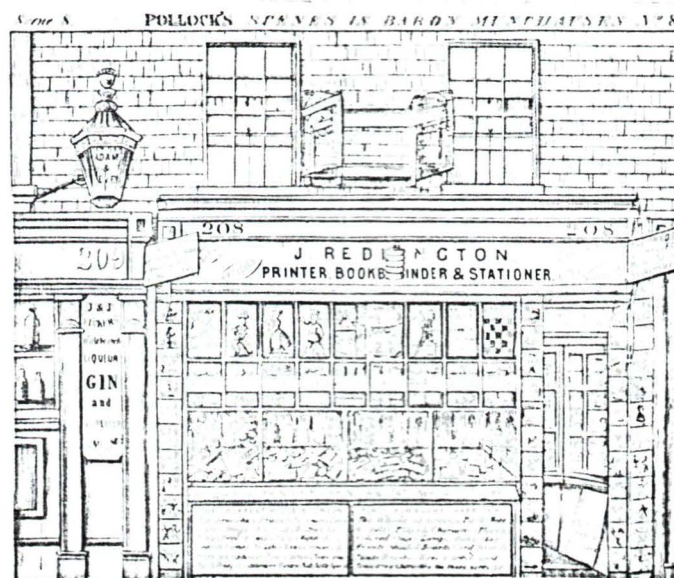


Fig.79

⁴Represented in the Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.91. The date of this pantomime is probably December, 1858.

Harlequin Uncle Tom's Cabin - pantomime

Published in halfpenny sheets, March 28, 1853.¹

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.102.

The complete play comprises:

- ? Character plates (7)
- ? Scene plates (9)
- ? Trick plates (0)
- ? Wing plates (1)

Total number of plates: 28 (17)

Book (0)

The title page of Green's book of words to this pantomime bears the following legend: "A New Serio Comic,

¹The unusual date of publication of this pantomime, Easter Monday, 1853, requires some explanation. In the past, Easter had provided an occasion for pantomimes second only to Christmas, but for some years the place of the Easter pantomime had been taken by "extravaganzas", a hybrid genre that was developed by J.R.Planché as a serious rival to even Christmas pantomimes. Sometimes, of course, a pantomime would be so successful as to run right through to Easter anyway. Easter was not, then, an inappropriate time for Green to issue a pantomime, but why did he not, as usual, hold it over until the following Christmas? The explanation seems to be that during the Christmas period of 1852-53 Green made copies of two pantomimes: Uncle Tom and Whittington and his Cat, the latter of which was running at Sadler's Wells. Which of the two, if either, was an afterthought, or whether Green had changed his policy regarding the issue of just one pantomime a year cannot be known, but clearly Uncle Tom was on a much more topical theme than Whittington and less likely to be as popular a year later, and so it was good business sense to issue it while the novel was still fresh in everyone's mind, keeping the less topical pantomime for the following Christmas.

Operatic, Melodramatic, Cabalistic, Grand Christmas Pantomime entitled: Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Harlequin and Lucy Neal. Written, invented and produced by Frederick Neale, Esq. at the Royal Pavilion Theatre".² Green also names some of the actors on his character plates: Mr. Courtney, Mr. Heslop, Mr. Tongman, Miss Nathan, and Miss Atkins. The only pantomime of this name recorded by Nicoll is indeed that by Neale at the Royal Pavilion on December 27, 1852,³ and it may be fairly assumed that this was Green's model. Nicoll records the alternative title of the pantomime as Britannia, the Pride of the Ocean and Guardian Genius of the Slave; this was perhaps too pompous and long-winded for Green's customers, but at least one nautical scene and a tableau featuring Britannia among Green's plates⁴ indicate that this title was by no means inappropriate to the toy version.

It is hardly surprising that Uncle Tom and his cabin should have been featured in Green's pantomime for

² From the book of words held in the Seaton-Reid Collection at the University of Toronto Rare Books Library.

³ Nicoll, A History of English Drama, V, 501.

⁴ Scene 6 and Character plate 4.

this year. Mrs. Beecher Stowe's famous novel had taken London by storm in 1852 and during the latter part of that year there were several dramatized forms of the story produced in London theatres. On December 26 there were various versions running at Drury Lane, the Adelphi, the Surrey and at Astley's,⁵ but none of these were pantomimes. A number of pantomimes on other subjects made reference to the novel in the normal course of topical jests and tricks,⁶ but the Royal Pavilion was apparently the only theatre to actually base an entire pantomime on the story. The novel had, after all, a serious subject, and most managements may well have hesitated to poke fun at such an unassailably moral theme as anti-slavery. That the production did manage to please, however, seems indicated by the fact that Green chose to use it as a model for a Juvenile Drama version, but in the absence of any reviews or other accounts of the Pavilion production it is not possible to comment on the fidelity of Green's plates.

⁵The London Times, December 26, 1852.

⁶Wilson, Pantomime Pageant, pp.33 & 64.

Whittington and His Cat - pantomime

Published in halfpenny sheets, 1853.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.103.

One earlier edition of this pantomime had been published by West, but since this is not present in The Sage Collection it is not possible to free the Green edition from the suspicion of piracy and no examination of this pantomime, therefore, will be attempted.

The Life of a Soldier; or, The Sailor's Daughter and the Soldier's Bride

Published in halfpenny sheets, April 15, 1854.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.43.

The complete play comprises:

8 Character plates (3)
12 Scene plates (8)
4 Wing plates (1)

Book (1)

No earlier edition of this play had been published; it is original to Green.

Throughout the Nineteenth Century the number of military spectacles and melodramas presented on the London stage was legion. During the years of empire-building following the defeat of Napoleon, the adventures of the

British soldier abroad were of interest second only to those of the British tar. Michael Booth has written: "As long as Britons were involved in fighting somewhere - and, if they were not, the battles of history could be fought all over again - the flow of military melodramas continued unchecked".¹ The sad parting of a soldier from his loved ones and the fate of those loved ones left behind, in the clutches, perhaps, of some desperate villain, was of perennial fascination to the Victorians, and no more so than in the 1850s during the Crimean War. Not all plays on military themes, however, painted a soldier's life as a glorious one, and there appears to have been a considerable movement of revulsion against preparations for the Crimean campaign: that is if the works presented in the popular theatre are anything to go by.

It is against the background of the Crimea preparations that Green's Life of a Soldier must be seen. Its script is quite plainly based on a play by John Courtney entitled The Soldier's Progress; or, The Horrors of War, "a pictorial drama in four parts", which was first

¹ Booth, English Melodrama, p.96.

produced at the Victoria Theatre on November 5, 1849.²

This play was set during the much earlier Peninsular War and painted the army as a divider of families and a corruptor of Youth: it was described in the Lacy edition as "illustrative of the celebrated series of plates issued under the patronage of the Peace Society", but there is no means of telling to what degree the plates were reproduced accurately in the scenery at the Victoria, nor to what extent they were reflected in Green's own scenes. There is little reason to assume, in fact, that Green copied the original Victoria production, although he used the same script, since there was a lapse of some four years before he published his juvenile version. It is quite likely that the play was revived at about the time Green published it, for its relevance to the approaching war with Russia would have made it popular once again, but it is not clear whether Green could have based his version on a revival at the Victoria or whether he saw the old play revived at some other theatre. There was a production at the Victoria on January 9, 1854, of a play

²

Nicoll, A History of English Drama, IV, 284.

entitled The Soldier's Bride³ but the unfamiliar characters' names and the alternative title of The Battle of Austerlitz⁴ suggest that this was neither Courtney's play nor Green's model. The only other possible models for Green's play on record are The Soldier's Wife, performed at the Britannia in May, 1853,⁵ and The Siege of Sebastopol; or, the Horrors of War, performed, also at the Britannia, early in 1854.⁶ Whether or not the latter of these was an updated version of the former or an entirely new play,⁷ it is odd that Green should not have updated his own toy version to set it also in the Crimea. It seems probable that Green drew his inspiration

³ Ibid., V, 752.

⁴ The London Times, January 9, 1854.

⁵ Nicoll, op.cit., V, 752.

⁶ Ibid., V, 749.

⁷ There was also a production of a play entitled The Life of a Soldier by G.D.Pitt at the Britannia in October, 1848 (Nicoll, op.cit., IV, 604). It seems likely that the later productions at this theatre were based on this Pitt version rather than on the Courtney one. Speaight, in The History of the English Toy Theatre, p.208, gives the original production of the play as at the Britannia in 1861, but this is patently an error since Green himself died in 1860.

from elsewhere; perhaps from some unrecorded production of Courtney's original play at some other theatre where the old Peninsular War setting was retained.

There is another possibility that must be considered, however: that is, being in possession of the old Courtney script and being aware of the current popularity of the soldier-leaving-home type of play, Green merely concocted a juvenile version based on the details provided by the script and on his imagination alone, or perhaps on memories or unused sketches of the old 1849 production at the Victoria. This possibility seems confirmed by the number of "stock" scenes Green used (seven at least out of the twelve published for the play) and by the unusual nature of three of the remaining "original" scenes and wing plates in the Sage Collection. These three are of particular interest since they each have drawn upon them a number of live characters, and two of the characters on Scene 16 are actually required to speak. This is something of a radical and retrogressive step in the history of Juvenile Drama since Green had not previously ever drawn characters directly onto scenes except in panoramas where they were

not given any lines to speak. The device obviously reduces the effectiveness of the scenes in performance and can only have been the result of laziness or ill-advised economy on the artist's part.

One other detail worth mentioning is the fairground booth illustrated on one of the wing sheets (Fig.80), displaying the title "Green's Royal Theatre" and illustrating a number of characters from Green's earlier plays. It is highly unlikely that this was copied from a live production and, as with the Redington shop front in Harlequin Oliver Cromwell (see above, p.201), this must have been merely a piece of advertising on Green's part.

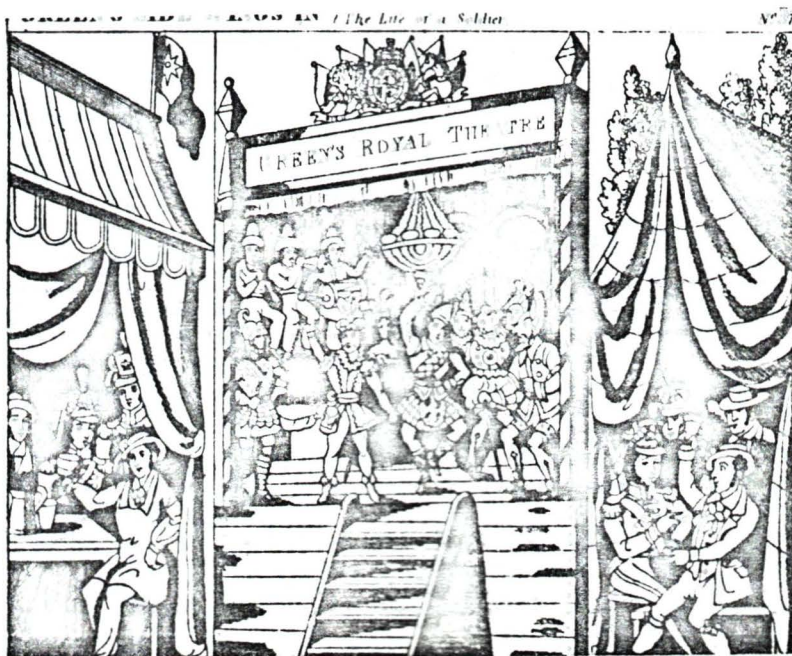


Fig.80

The costumes drawn by Green for this play are for the most part unremarkable, being fairly consistent with working class and military dress of the early Nineteenth Century. Luke's transformation, however, from contemporary dress in the early part of the play to an outrageously swashbuckling "banditti"-style costume with an extraordinary array of weapons tucked into his belt (Fig.81) for the scenes in Spain, appears to have been designed more for dramatic effect than from any feeling for historical or geographic authenticity. At the same time, Justice Mouthpiece's Eighteenth Century costume (Fig.82) appears to have been designed more to emphasize his dignity than as an accurate portrayal of a Justice of circa.1800.



Fig.81



Fig.82

It is also worth remarking on the costume of Levi Solomon (Fig.85). This is the third "stage Jew" to have appeared in Green's original plays and a comparison with the Pedlar in Wapping Old Stairs (Fig.83) and Mendez in Jack Sheppard (Fig.84) reveals a fairly consistent rendering of the typical stage Jew's long coat, beard and hat.



Fig.83



Fig.84



Fig.85

The quality of the drawing of the figures in Life of a Soldier is not as high as in some earlier plays (the comparison of the Jews demonstrates this), and this factor, together with the other evidence from scenes and costumes, seems to suggest that this particular play cannot be regarded as a faithful reproduction of any particular live stage presentation.

In spite of the dubious fidelity of the play, one small detail can help to illustrate a minor facet of

Victorian comedy: that is the presence in the play of Nancy M'Cormish (Fig.86). Who this lady is and how she found her way onto the battlefield of the Iberian Peninsular is not explained in Green's script, but the original Courtney script provides the following description:

"A nate speciment" of one of the fair sex from "Ould Ireland" - a follower of the 51st Regiment, with a brandy-bottle for her friends, and a stout cudgel for her foes.⁸

It was a transvestite role, played originally at the Victoria by Mr.Neville,⁹ and was obviously the source of much comic business. It is interesting to note that such a role in an otherwise fairly serious melodrama seems to have been a quite acceptable convention of the early Victorian theatre and was probably a forerunner of the modern "Dame" of Christmas pantomimes.



Fig.86

⁸ Courtney, The Soldier's Progress, Lacy edition.

⁹ Ibid.

The Corsican Brothers

Published in halfpenny sheets, August 11, 1854.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.20.

The complete play comprises:

6 Character plates (6)

5 Scene plates (5)

2 Wing plates (1)

Book (1)

No earlier edition of this play had been published; it is original to Green.

The Corsican Brothers is another of those dramas "taken from the French": in this case from the dramatization by Grange and Montepin of the novel Les Frères Corses (1845) by Dumas which was first performed in Paris in 1850.¹ The first English adaptation to appear was that by Dion Boucicault and it was first performed by Charles Kean at the Princess's Theatre on February 24, 1852.² Kean's production was by far the most celebrated and Boucicault's adaptation is today the only one to be at all well-known. There were, however, at least six different productions of

¹Booth, ed. English Plays of the Nineteenth Century, II, 28.

²Nicoll, A History of English Drama, V, 267.

The Corsican Brothers presented in London during 1852 and they did not all use the Boucicault script. Apart from the one at the Princess's, Nicoll records the following productions: The Corsican Brothers; or the Scarlet Letter, by G.Almar, at the Victoria, March 15, 1852,³ The Corsican Brothers, by J.R.O'Neill, for which no theatre or date is given;⁴ and productions at the Marylebone, the Grecian Saloon and the City of London Theatre, all in March, 1852 but for none of which is the author's name given.⁵ Later productions are recorded of The Corsicans; or, the Brothers Salacarro by the Sala brothers at the Surrey on March 15, 1853,⁶ and The Vendetta; or, The Corsican Brothers at Drury Lane on February 27, 1854.⁷ Green's own version was not published until August 11, 1854, by which time he could have seen any of the above.

There is little information available about any but the Kean production of the Boucicault script but, on the strength of the titles alone, it would seem possible

³ Ibid., V. 240.

⁴ Ibid., V. 808.

⁵ Ibid., V, 661. The cast of the City of London production included Mr.Charles Pitt, N.T.H.Hicks, and Mrs.H.Vining - Williams, Some London Theatres Past and Present, p.61.

⁶ Nicoll, op.cit., V, 555.

⁷ Ibid. Y1 763.

to eliminate at least two of the productions from this enquiry: these are the Almar version at the Victoria (a scarlet letter plays no major role in the Green version) and the Sala version at the Surrey which appears to have been a highly individual piece in which the authors' name was oddly identified with the principal characters.⁸ The Drury Lane production can also be dismissed since it does not appear to have been very successful.⁹ Indeed, of the remaining productions only that at the Princess's seems to have been at all long-lived (it was certainly still in Kean's repertoire in 1854)¹⁰ but it is really only on the strength of this fact that any connection can be made between this and Green's 1854 version for, when the original Boucicault script of the play together with illustrations of the Kean production are compared with the Green version, several small but significant discrepancies

⁸By means of a play on words. The home of the Corsican brothers according to Boucicault is Sullacao. Pollock gives the name as Sullacaro.

⁹Illustrated London News, March 4, 1854, p.194.

¹⁰Kean played The Corsican Brothers sixty-six times in its first season and two hundred and fifty times altogether during his seven remaining years at the Princess's - Booth, op.cit., II, 28.

become apparent.

In the first place the scripts, although they follow the same scene pattern and have the same subject matter, are at no point identical. Only the later Pollock edition of the juvenile script is held in the Sage Collection, but there is no reason to suppose that this should have been altered from the Green original. The phrasing, and sometimes the content of the speeches, is not the same as that in the Boucicault script and this cannot be explained by judicious cutting on Green's part: it rather seems to be the result of using a different translation of the original French play. In fact George Speaight has identified the adaptation that Green used: it was one by Charles Webb, published in Cumberland's British Theatre edition,¹¹ but it is not clear where, if anywhere, this was ever performed.

Some of the differences between Green's version of the Webb adaptation and the Boucicault script are worth noting. For example, in Act II, scene iv of the

¹¹ Speaight, letter to Theatre Notebook, II, 3, Spring, 1968.

Boucicault script, a character is introduced merely as a Surgeon. In the Pollock script the man is given a specific name: Dr.Tardieu. The character has only one line of speech in either version and a comparison will illustrate the kind of differences to be found throughout the entire play. In the Boucicault script the Surgeon, when asked what hope there is for Louis' life, replies: "None; the lungs are pierced. Ten minutes past nine! He has not five minutes more to live".¹² In the Pollock script the same episode has Dr.Tardieu saying: "The blade has pierced the lungs. There is no hope," to which Martelli (called by his first name, Giordano, in the Boucicault version) replies: "It is ten minutes past nine."¹³ This is ample proof, if proof were needed, that Green did not use the Boucicault script; he would not have gone to the trouble of inventing an unnecessary name for the Surgeon or have divided his line in this way, giving part of it to a character whose name he also must

¹² Booth, op.cit., II, 61.

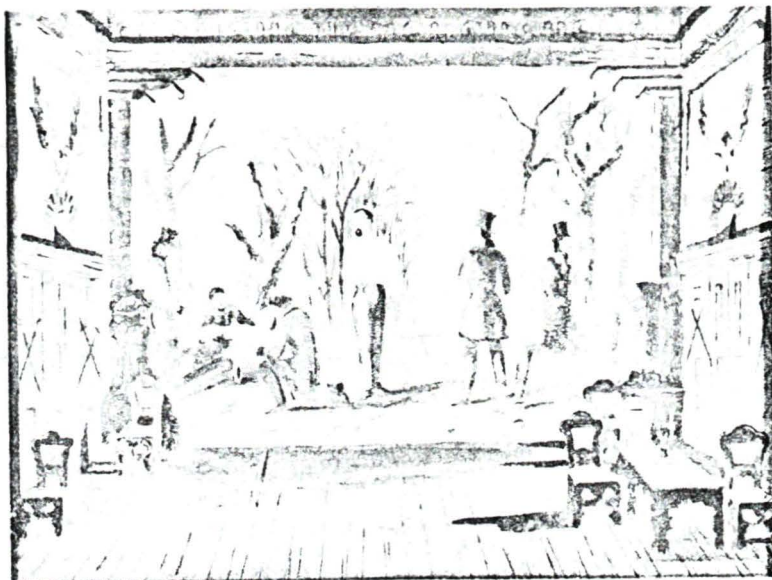
¹³ Pollock, The Corsican Brothers, p.13.

have decided for some inscrutable reason to change.

Another difference between the two scripts is the absence in the Pollock script of the final and most dramatic part of the duel in Act III when Fabien breaks his sword and the two antagonists fight to the death with just the points of their swords tied to their hands. Pollock also omits the final line spoken by the Shade of Louis. Both of these omissions are unfortunate in view of the fact that the juvenile drama version was designed for the special delectation of small boys!

It is obvious that Green did not base his script upon the Boucicault version, and so it seems unlikely that he would have based his sheets on the Kean production of the Boucicault version at the Princess's. A comparison of Green's sheets with three illustrations of the famous Kean production (Figs.87-89)¹⁴ seems to confirm this. The hair styles and costumes of Louis and Renaud in the first vision scene (Fig.89) are different to those shown by Green (Figs. 90 & 91). Also the decor and the disposition of the furniture

¹⁴Two of these (Figs.87 & 88) are designs by Lloyd and Gordon respectively, Fig.89 appears to be an artist's impression of an actual performance and may perhaps be regarded as a more reliable account of the first vision scene as it appeared in the theatre.



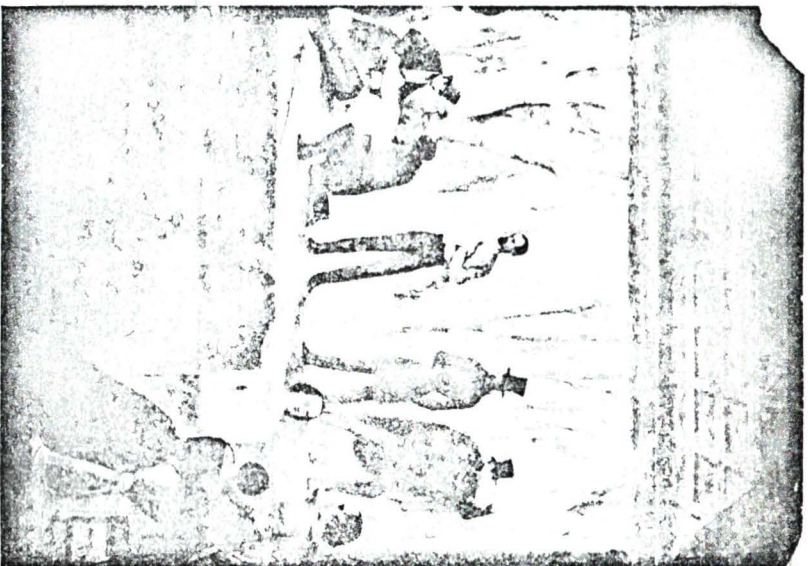
The Coward Brothers. Floyd's design for the first vision scene in Keim's 1892 production
Act One

Fig.87



The Coward Brothers. Gordon's design for the second vision scene in Keim's 1892 production

Fig.88



THE FIRE VEILOS SEEN FROM *The Court on Jericho*. (Fig. 89.)

Fig. 89



Fig. 90

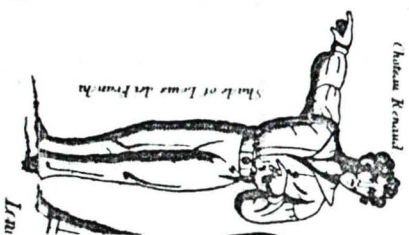


Fig. 91

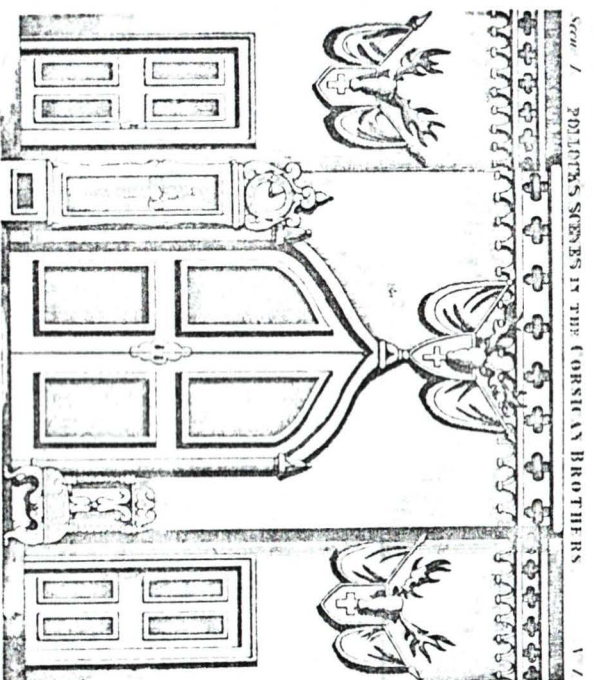


Fig. 92

(notably the clock) in Act I are different in the two versions (Cf.Figs.87&92). There is at least one strong similarity between the Princess's and Green's version, however, and this is in the forest scene. In Green's version (Fig.93) the avenue of trees disappearing behind the large tree, Right, and the log on the ground, Down Stage Left, are very much like those in Kean's production (Figs.87-89).



Fig.93

Against this conflicting evidence it is not possible with any certainty to attribute Green's version of The Corsican Brothers to the Kean production, and there can be no question of Green's characters bearing any direct

resemblance to Kean and his cast. It is much easier to find differences than to find similarities. The final duel as illustrated by Green is quite misleading and its peculiar horror is lost entirely. Lost, too, (although this is inevitable in the Juvenile Drama) is the effect of the famous "Corsican trap": the device that enabled the Shade of Louis to rise through the floor while moving forward at the same time; and also lost to a great extent is the effect of the vision scenes. In Irving's much later revival of the play the vision scenes were achieved with the help of a scrim and limelight. Charles Kean had to make use of rising and falling set pieces;¹⁵ and Green's vision in Act III, achieved by the use of a rising flap pasted onto the scene (Fig.94) is an extremely crude and unsatisfactory substitute for this.¹⁶

¹⁵ The World Behind the Scenes (1881) pp.45-48, cited by Booth, op.cit, p.75.

¹⁶ Green does not in fact make any attempt to reproduce the first vision scene as an integral part of Scene I as it is in the Boucicault script, but instead makes a completely separate scene out of it (Pollock's Scene 2). This could not have been because Green could not manage the mechanics of such a vision since he did manage to produce one for Act III (Fig.94). Could it be that this was the way in which the first vision scene was staged (ie.in a totally separate scene) in whatever production Green actually saw?

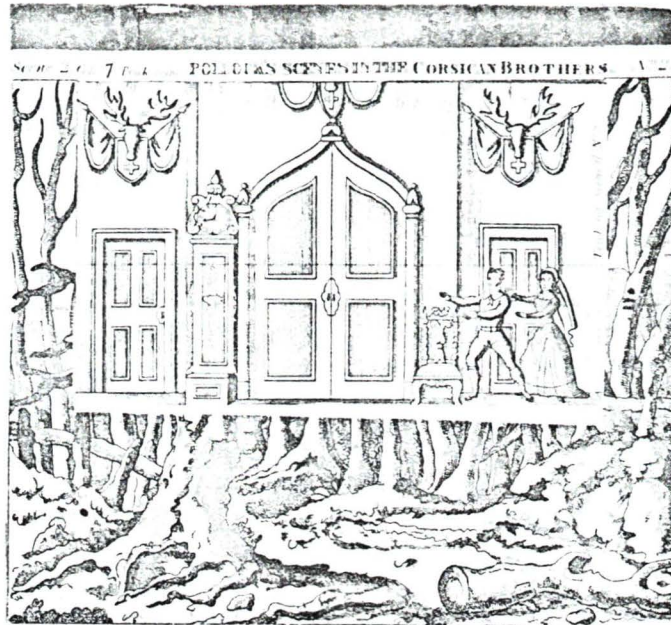


Fig. 94

The costumes drawn by Green are unremarkable. The play was set in contemporary Corsica and Paris, and Green's Parisian costumes (Figs. 90-91) are reasonably consistent in their portrayal of 1850s dress, and are similar in style if not in detail to those used by Kean (Fig. 89). The Corsican costumes (Fig. 95) are forgiveably picturesque, belonging to the very homeland of the traditional melodramatic banditti, but they are not excessively so (Cf. Luke's Spanish dress in Life of a Soldier, Fig. 81) and may be regarded as the kind of costumes that would be adopted in a fairly naturalistic



Fig.95

and tasteful production. That this was Kean's production, however, appears to be highly questionable.

Jack the Giant Killer

Published in halfpenny sheets, December 26, 1854.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.104.

The complete play comprises:

- 8 Character plates (8)
- 14 Scene plates (14)
- 3 Trick plates (2)
- 4 Wing plates (0)

Book (1)

An earlier edition of this pantomime had been published by West in 1819;¹ this is not represented in

¹According to Speaight (The History of the English Toy Theatre, p.216) Jameson had also published a version, but elsewhere (op.cit., p.189) Speaight identifies this as Jack and the Beanstalk which was a variant of the Giant Killer plot and could not have been the same as Green's.

the Sage Collection and it seems unlikely that Green would have pirated a version published as much as thirty-five years earlier, so Green's must almost certainly be regarded as an original work.

There had been many productions of the pantomime in London before 1854: Garrick had produced a Christmas play which was in fact Jack the Giant Killer as early as 1773,² and there were so many subsequent versions of this popular legend that any attempt to identify Green's model would normally be fraught with difficulties. In this case, however, one detail of Green's version attracts immediate attention: that is Scene 7 (Fig.96) which represents the façade of the Royal Olympic Theatre with a sign indicating that the pantomime Harlequin Jack the Giant Killer is showing there. In the 1853-54 season, however, the Olympic pantomime was not Jack the Giant Killer at all but Harlequin Columbus;³ and there are a number of details about Green's sheets that are decidedly inconsistent with the date of 1854. For example, the

² Wilson, Pantomime Pageant, p.83.

³ The Illustrated London News, December 31, 1853.



Fig.96

façade of the theatre shown in the scene is the façade of the second Olympic theatre as it was before it burned down in 1849 (Fig.97)⁴ and not as it was in 1854 (Fig.98).

Equally significant is the subject of a harlequinade trick

⁴ Having identified the façade of the theatre as belonging to the old building which had earlier been the famous home of Mme.Vestris, it is worth remarking that although Green's scene does not appear to be an utterly faithful rendering of the original, it does show quite clearly the totally separate entrances to Gallery, Boxes and Pit: typical features of the class-conscious audience segregation practised in early Nineteenth Century theatres. A detail which argues further in favour of at least a degree of attention to accuracy on Green's part is the lane visible at the side of the theatre. This lane is also clearly visible in the print of the theatre (Fig.97) and it presumably provided access to the stage door, but it is difficult to explain why Green should have bothered to illustrate this unless he had copied it from the live stage original where it could undoubtedly have served some function in the scene.

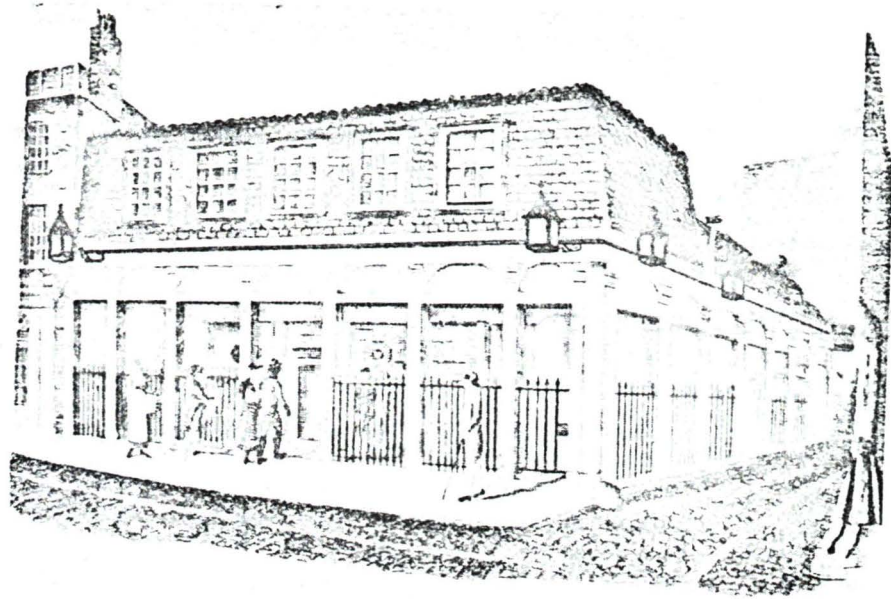


Fig. 97

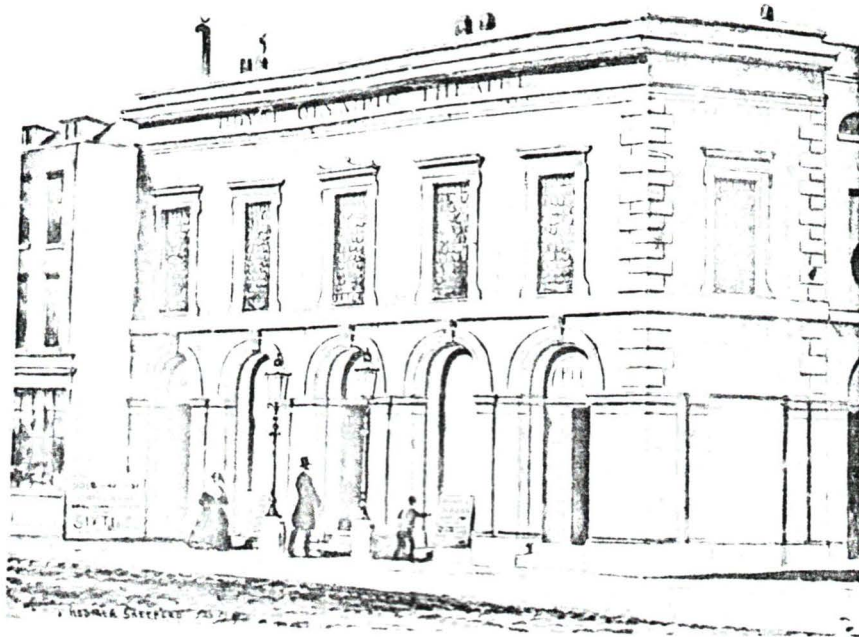


Fig. 98

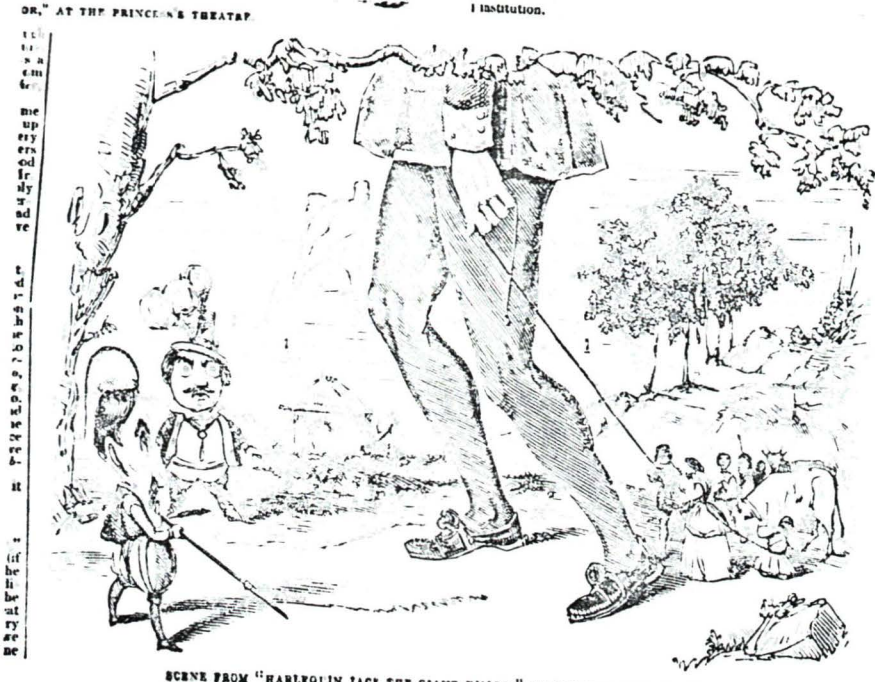
scene, Scene 8: the erection of Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square. The column was actually erected in 1843⁵ and could hardly have been of much topical interest in a pantomime of a decade later. Such a scene would have been much more appropriate in a pantomime of the 1843-44 season, and the London Times for that Christmas provides the information that the pantomime at the Olympic theatre was indeed Jack the Giant Killer.⁶ A review in the Times⁷ and an illustration in the Illustrated London News (Fig.99)⁸ help to confirm that this production, albeit ten years old, was Green's model. The most obvious similarity between the Olympic production and Green's version is the presence of a puppet Giant in Scene 4, shown both by the artist in the Illustrated London News and by Green (Fig.100) as leading a group of villagers by a rope. It is interesting that Green shows the entire figure of the Giant crossing the stage in two separate drawings, appearing larger as he gets closer to

⁵The London Times, November 6, 1843.

⁶Ibid., December 26, 1843. The Olympic pantomime in the 1841-42 season had also been a model for Green (see above, Harlequin Riddle-me-riddle-me-ree, p.173).

⁷Ibid., December 27, 1843.

⁸The Illustrated London News, December 30, 1843.



SCENE FROM "HARLEQUIN JACK THE GIANT KILLER" AT THE OLYMPIC THEATRE.

Fig.99



Fig.100

the footlights, while the artist in the Illustrated London News seems to suggest that only the lower quarters of the Giant were visible (at least on his final cross of the stage). This final cross has presumably been omitted by Green as impracticable in the juvenile form but his other drawings supplement the Illustrated London News by revealing that the audience was not deprived of a full view of the Giant during earlier parts of the show.

There seems little doubt that this production at the Olympic was Green's model.⁹ The Times review confirms that the character names were the same as in Green's version

⁹ If the inevitable conclusion about this work is drawn: that is that it was indeed based upon the Olympic production of 1843-44 and that Green had originally intended to publish it on Boxing Day, 1844 (the illustration of an enormous sovereign bearing the date 1845 in Scene 11 seems to confirm this), then why did Green actually wait ten years before he finally published it? It seems unlikely that the date, 1854, is merely a misprint since it appears on more than one sheet, and it seems equally unlikely that this date represents a reprint since no sheets are on record with an earlier date on them. The answer must be that the sketches or plates were lost and then rediscovered by Green or that he simply could not afford the investment in copper plates at the time and held the sketches over until such time as he could afford to use them. The mid-fifties seem to have been an affluent period for Green: he issued as many as five new titles in 1854 alone and yet he published no other pantomime for that year; perhaps there were simply none that seemed suitable and so Jack the Giant Killer was resurrected to fill the gap.

and that the opening scene at least (the only one mentioned by the Press) was on the same subject as Green's: The Golden Palace of the Gnomes (Fig.101). However, the quality of the painting of the original scene is not really captured by Green, and it is difficult to see why it received the praise that it evidently did. The scenic artist was the young William Beverley.

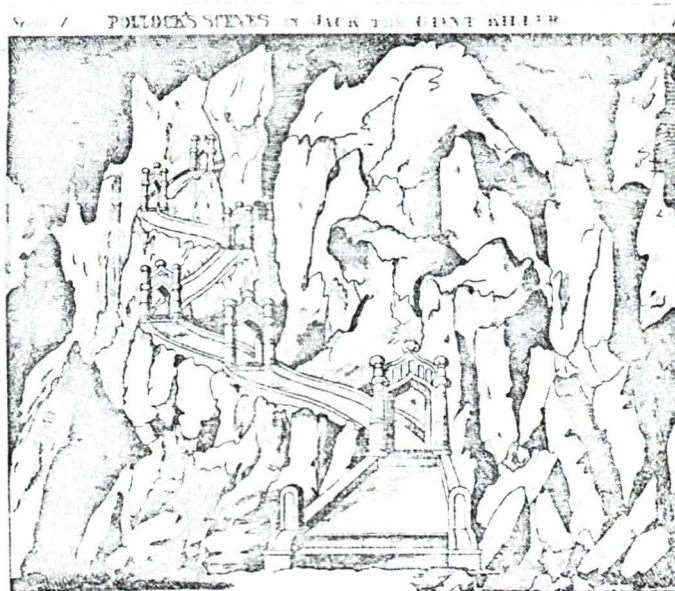


Fig.101

Another example of Green advertising his wares on his sheets is to be found in a trick for Scene 10, where the initials "J.K.G." appear in "The Olympic Magic Album" immediately before a bust of Shakespeare (Fig.102). This minor intrusion does not necessarily mean that the

entire scene should be dismissed as a fabrication on Green's part, but without more information about the Olympic production it should be regarded with suspicion.

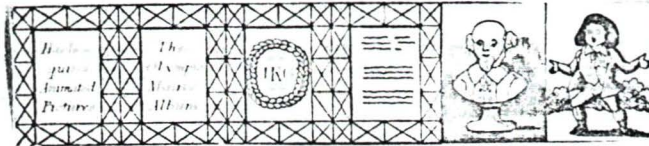


Fig.102

This Olympic production of Jack the Giant Killer is an interesting production from the point of view of pantomime history, for it brought together a number of talents from both the new and old schools of pantomime and may be regarded as a significant example of the genre in transition. For example, it was the scenic artist Beverley who was later to be responsible for the increasing importance of the "transformation" scene, and all the scenic opulence associated with it. Planché himself, in his Recollections, was to write:

The beautiful scenery by Mr. William Beverley... whose talent soon placed himself at the head of his profession - challenged and received its well-merited share of approbation... Year after year Mr. Beverley's powers were tasked to outdo his former outdoings... As to me I was positively painted out... It was no longer even painting; it was upholstery.¹⁰

¹⁰Planché, Recollections, cited in Mayer's Harlequin in his Element, p.317.

In the production of Jack the Giant Killer Beverley's talents, though appreciated, were not yet fully developed, but it is interesting to see an example of the early work of an artist who was to have such a lasting influence on the very nature of the genre, and who played a major role in the development of stage spectacle at the expense of the older traditions of slapstick and satire.

Another example of the new school of pantomime to be found in this production is a character described by the Times as a "supplemental columbine" called Harlequina. The introduction of this character was apparently successful but it typifies the slightly desperate efforts that were being made to find ways of giving new life to the slowly dying harlequinade. Such efforts were intruding upon the tight conventional structure of the harlequinade and preparing the way for its total disintegration. It is to be regretted that Green omits Harlequina from his version.

The Clown (Fig.103) in the Olympic production was played by the long-legged Jefferini: too "obstreperous" and talkative a performer for the taste of the Times reviewer (Cf.the oft-recalled Grimaldi). It was the

Pantaloon (Fig.104), played by Mr.Hartland, who appears to have been the most popular character in the show. Hartland was an old favourite. In fact, a Mr.Hartland appeared as Harlequin on a West sheet in 1812¹¹ and it is possible that this was the same man for the Times remarked that "he figured in the pantomime of the olden days, when it was in its prime, and he has lost none of the quaint and pleasant spirit that belonged to it".¹²



Fig.103



Fig.104

Another link with the past was the Harlequin, "Young Bologna", son of Jack Bologna who had played with Grimaldi.

¹¹ Mayer, op.cit., p.45.

¹² The London Times, December 27, 1843.

examination of the two reveals a sufficient number of similarities to suggest that one of the publishers may have copied the other. A comparison of the two versions of a fairly complex combat tableau (Figs.105 & 106) demonstrates this quite clearly.



Fig.105

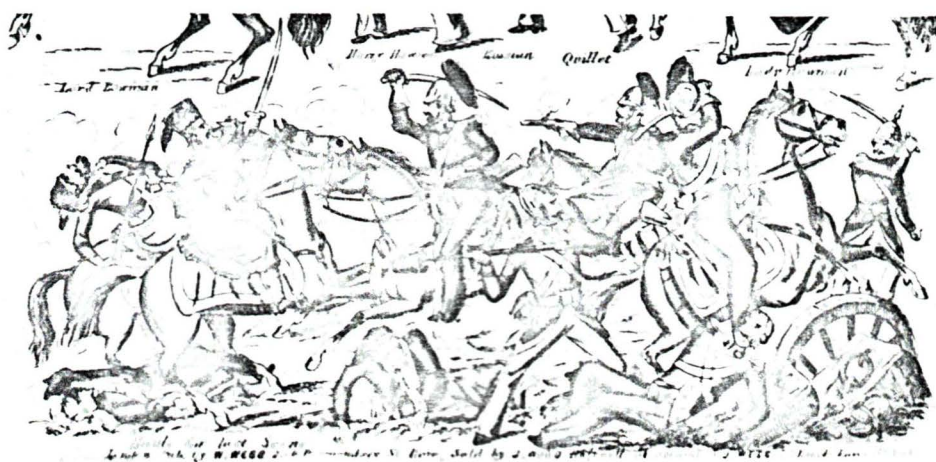


Fig.106

The copy is not exact, however, and the Webb edition contains far more detail than Green's. The inference to be drawn from this may be that Webb copied and elaborated on Green rather than that Green made a shoddy and incomplete copy of Webb. Green could, after all, have traced the Webb version and produce a far better copy if he had wished. On the other hand, one might be tempted to see in the freedom and vigour of Webb's drawing evidence that his was the original and that Green deliberately made a bad copy in order to evade the accusation of piracy. Another possibility is that the two publishers copied their figures from some unknown common source. It certainly seems unlikely that both publishers could have copied the same frozen moment directly from the combat on the stage, unless the combat was staged as a Tableau Vivant.

What is more important is that there are a number of details in each version of this play that suggest that, although one publisher may have in part copied the other, they were in fact basing their versions on two entirely different productions, for not only are there a number of characters that are featured in one but not the other, but some characters have different names and the

The Battle of the Alma was a spectacular piece of showmanship, more of a military tattoo than a play. It was based on the accounts returning from the Crimean War of the victory of the English, French and Turkish allies over the Russians on the heights of Alma. The actual battle took place on September 20, 1854, and was first fully reported in the London Times on October 9. In less than a month the play had been written and was being staged at Astley's Amphitheatre...

with 400 military auxiliaries, marches, counter-marches, charges of cavalry, passages of artillery, attack and repulse of the Cossacks, ascent of the rocky heights, terrific conflict and general encounter of horse and foot amid the roaring of cannon, and final planting of the British standard on the heights of Alma forming a coup-d'oeil unparalleled, and inducing the beholder to believe he is actually witnessing the fearful reality.²

The Astley's production, written by J.H.Stocqueler³ and first performed on October 23, 1854, was the most celebrated version of the play, receiving a review in the London Times and provoking a number of satirical jibes

²The London Times, November 29, 1854. For an account of the production in the context of the history of Astley's, see Wilson Disher, Greatest Show on Earth, pp.211-12.

³Nicoll, A History of English Drama, V, 818.

from Punch. There were, however, other versions. At the Surrey there was a play called Brothers in Arms which opened on October 30 and later (November 20) had its title changed to The Battle of the Alma; or, Brothers in Arms.⁴ Nicoll also records a production licensed by the Lord Chamberlain in July 1856 to be performed at the Standard.⁵

So popular was Astley's Amphitheatre among the younger and more sensation-loving theatregoers that it might almost seem a foregone conclusion that it was the Astley's production that served as a model for both Juvenile Drama publishers. However, the two publishers do not appear to have copied the same production. Did either of them, in fact, copy the Astley's one? The fact that they did not mention the theatre's name on their title sheets is suspicious, especially in the light of the fact that in his sequel, The Battles of Balaclava and Inkermann, Green at least did note the name of Astley's (see below, p.250). Information about the Astley's production in the Times and Punch, although abundant, is

⁴ The London Times, October-November, 1854. An additional alternative title, The Angel's Whisper and the Bond of Love, was dropped after November 20.

⁵ Nicoll, op.cit., V, 646.

not particularly helpful in this matter since it refers more to the spectacular effects and the impersonation of real figures such as Prince Menschikoff than to the details of specific scenes and the invented characters which form the major areas of difference between the two juvenile versions; but the Times' description of the opening scene at Astley's does suggest that this was the model for Webb (Cf.Fig.107):

A ship alongside of Southampton pier is the object at the back of the stage, and in the foreground are groups of soldiers and leave-taking friends...⁶

A similar scene appears in Green's version but it is not the first but the third scene and is set not at Southampton but at Portsmouth.

As if to contradict this evidence that Green was not using the Astley's Alma as his model, there appears in a Punch article a description of "A very agreeable pas de trois... danced by some young ladies, symbolizing England, France and Turkey".⁷ Green certainly illustrates such a trio (Fig.108) but such an allegory could well have been

⁶The London Times, October 24, 1854.

⁷"The Battle of the Alma, as Fought at Astley's," article in Punch, XXVII, 1854.

introduced into another production as well: it would not have been out of place in the Surrey production, for example, where the title of the play, Brothers in Arms, suggests that particular emphasis was placed on international alliance.



Fig.108

There is little information available about the Surrey production, although an advertisement in the London Times⁸ does provide the names of some of the characters and these correspond quite closely to those of Green: the hero for example is called Harry Bluff (Cf. Webb's Harry Hawser). The deciding evidence, however, is that this character was played at the Surrey by the co-proprietor, Mr. Shepherd, and on Green's title sheet this actor's name is actually inscribed beneath the figure of Harry Bluff (Fig.109).

⁸The London Times, October 30, 1854.

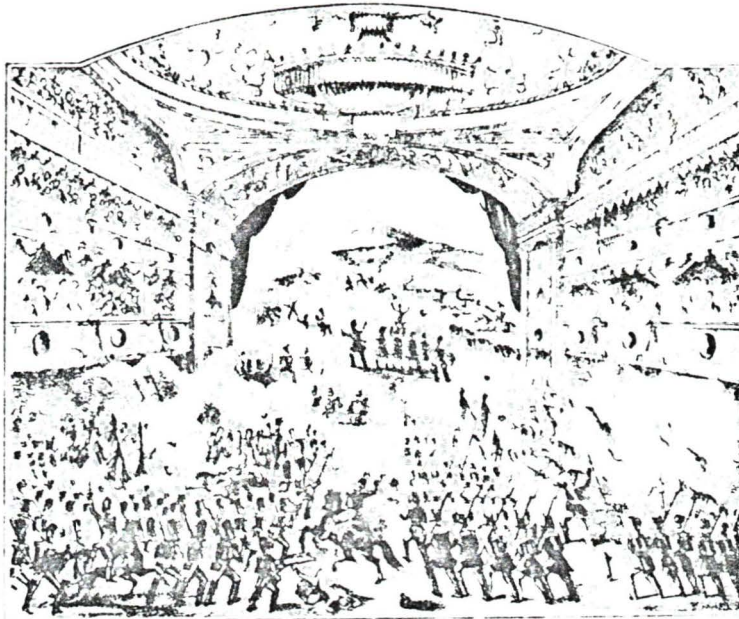


Fig.109

This is the only actor named by Green, and that in itself is suspicious since on the few occasions that Green named his actors he always named the majority of the principals, but clearly such a detail cannot be ignored and it can surely be assumed that Green was familiar with and copied at least parts of the production at the Surrey when he published his own version of the play.

The Battle of the Alma as it was performed at Astley's was highly unsuited to Juvenile Drama treatment for it depended largely on the combined use of the circus ring and stage for its most spectacular effects (see Fig. 110) and the juvenile form cannot be expected to reproduce this well. The Surrey had originally possessed a circus ring and had in fact originated the Astleian brand of equestrian drama back in 1782.⁹ Although the theatre had

⁹ Baker, History of the London Stage, p.389, et.seq.



Victoria and Albert Museum

MILITARY SPECTACLE AT ASTLEY'S. *Battle of the Alma* (1855)

Fig.110

from time to time been converted back into a circus during the early part of the Nineteenth Century, there is no evidence that such was undertaken for the production of The Alma and although Green's scenes cannot offer any help in this matter, it seems likely that the Surrey version was rather more of a stage play and less of a military spectacle than the one at Astley's, and thus it would have been a far more suitable production for Green to copy. There was no mention of special effects in the Surrey advertisements in the London Times, and it can be assumed that the main attraction in this production was Shepherd's performance. Shepherd was apparently "a vulgar and

slangy" specialist in "rough-and-tumble melodrama"¹⁰ and he was no doubt highly popular with the younger type of audience.

Tom Thumb

Published in halfpenny sheets, 1854.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.86.

Earlier editions of this play had been published by Jameson, West, and Dyer, but since these are not represented in The Sage Collection it is not possible to free the Green edition from the suspicion of piracy and no examination of this play, therefore, will be attempted.

¹⁰Ibid., p.395.

The Battles of Balaclava and Inkermann

Published in halfpenny sheets, April 10, 1855.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.8.

The complete play comprises:

7 Character plates (7)

5 Scene plates (3)

1 Wing plate (0)

Book (0)

One other contemporary edition of this play was published, by Webb. This edition is represented in the Sage Collection (Accession No.975.2.8) so that comparison with the Green edition is possible.

Although both Green's and Webb's editions of The Battles of Balaclava and Inkermann were published as plays in their own right, they were in fact based not on an independent play but on an additional act that was introduced into Stocqueler's The Battle of the Alma at Astley's (see above, p.243) shortly after those battles actually occurred. The intention at Astley's was presumably to keep the Alma running as long as possible by introducing new topical material, and the Juvenile Drama publishers capitalized on this. The actual Battle of Balaclava took place on October 25, and that of Inkermann

on November 5, 1854;¹ the new act first appeared at Astley's on February 26, 1855.² There is no record of any similar material being performed elsewhere.³ Certainly had such an addition been made to the Surrey version of The Alma it might be expected that Green's juvenile edition would have followed this, but instead Green states on his title sheet of Balaclava: "As Performed at ASTLEY'S Royal Amphitheatre". Since Webb's indebtedness to the Astley's production of The Alma seems clear (see above, p.245), it can be assumed that in the case of the sequel both publishers based their versions on the Astley's production, and considerable areas of similarity, therefore, may be expected between them. Indeed, the most significant similarity is that Green's central character is no longer Harry Bluff but the Harry Hawser featured by Webb in The Alma and, in fact all of the major characters and the order and content of the scenes in the two versions are the same.

¹ For reports, see the London Times, November 13 & 23, 1854.

² Nicoll, A History of English Drama, V. 646.

³ The Battle of Inkermann, by an unknown author, presumably an independent play, was licensed for performance at the Pavilion, December 2, 1854; Ibid., V. 646.

As with The Alma, there hangs over the two versions of Balaclava the suspicion of piracy, for once again a number of characters and scenes are too similar in each version to be merely the result of independent observations of the same production. A comparison of Figs.111 and 112 will soon demonstrate this. Webb's

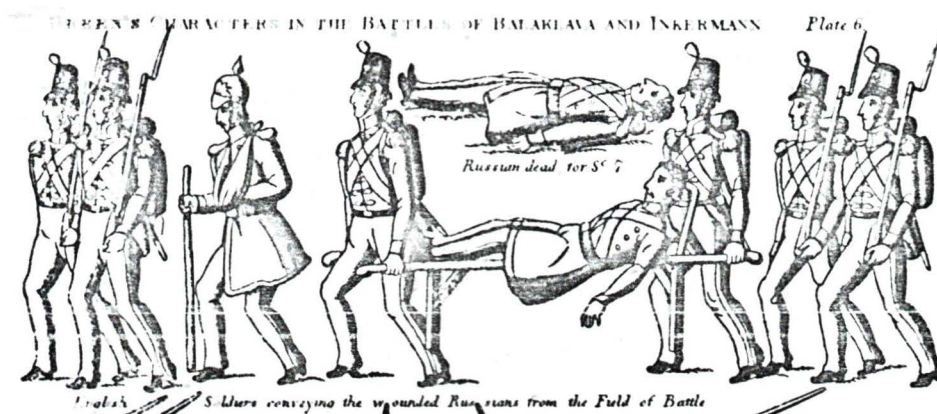


Fig.111

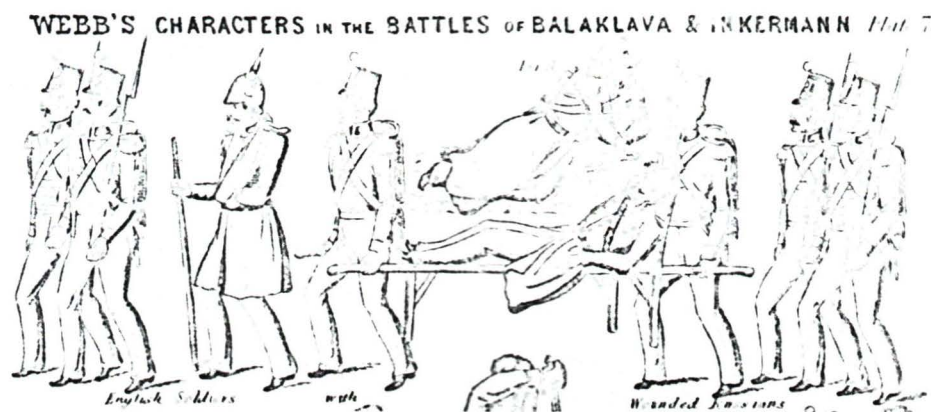


Fig.112

drawing is clearly superior to that of Green but this in

itself is not sufficient proof that one or the other was the pirate. As with The Alma, however, not all of the characters appear to have been copied: there are a number of figures drawn by Green who have no exact equivalent in Webb, and vice versa, and also some of the costumes are rather different (Cf.Figs.113 & 114).



Fig.113



Fig.114

According to a short review in the London Times, one of the highlights of the new Balaclava act at Astley's was "the celebrated cannon-leap".⁴ Precisely how this

leap was performed is not clear (although it sounds very much like the kind of acrobatic feat still performed in British military tattoos) but it would certainly appear to have been featured in Green's version for the publisher devotes an entire sheet of characters to the "British Flying Artillery" (Fig.115). In view of the Times comment

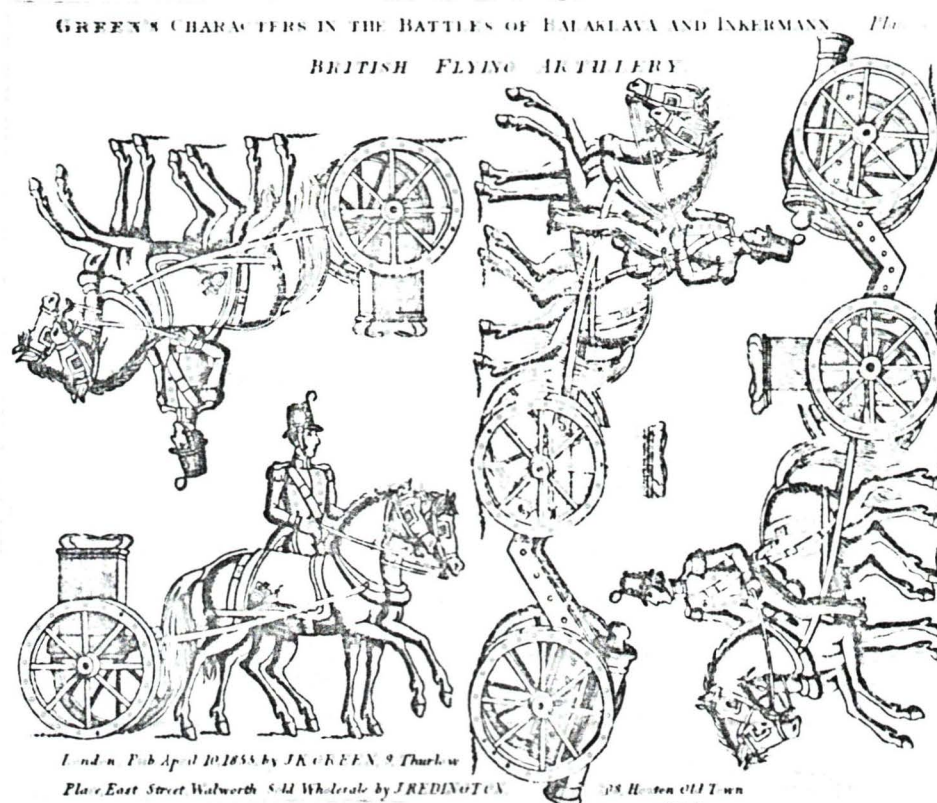


Fig.115

⁴The London Times, March 2, 1855. In addition to the comment about the "cannon-leap," the review mentioned that the act ended with "a tableau far more varied and effective than that of Alma, as the same means are employed with a better sense of the picturesque." The juvenile versions do not provide any particularly good illustration of this.

it seems odd that Webb on the other hand should not have illustrated any artillery in Balaclava except that he had done so in Alma (Fig.116) and he may well have intended the same figures to be used again: a clever ploy ensuring that his customers bought both plays, perhaps. What is most

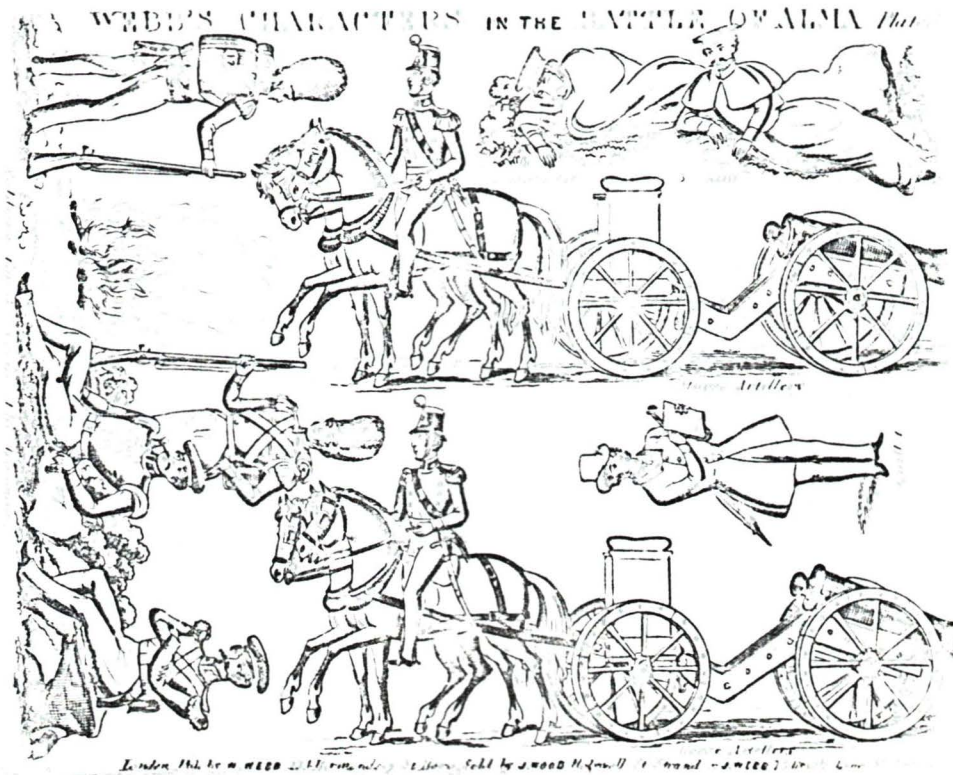


Fig.116

significant about these sheets, however, is that Green's artillery in his Balaclava and Webb's in his Alma are so similar as to leave no doubt that one was copied from the other. Green had already drawn similar artillery for Alma (Fig.117), and if he had been searching for artillery to copy for his Balaclava surely he would have

cannibalised his own earlier work rather than pirated Webb's?

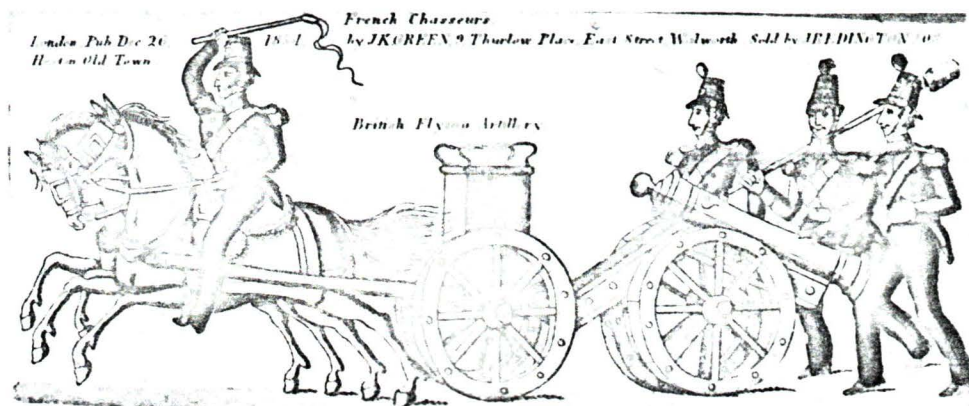


Fig.117

Since Green did not copy from his own work (Cf.Figs.115 and 117), the conclusion must be that Webb copied the artillery in Green's Balaclava for his own Alma, and if this is the case then both Webb's Alma and Balaclava must post-date both of Green's plays: i.e. after April 10, 1855.

Although this evidence helps in dating the Webb plays, it does not answer the question of fidelity since there is little to indicate how attentive to accuracy Green was in the first place. The fact that there are significant differences between the Webb and Green versions (especially in the costumes) and that Webb was apparently selective in his copying of Green leaves the question unresolved. The differences in costume, for example, may be explained in a number of ways: they

may be due to Webb's efforts to conceal his piracy or to the natural instinct of the artist to improve on or embellish a rather crude model; they may equally be due to Green retaining on his own sheets some of the features of the Surrey production of The Alma in order to keep his two plays consistent with each other, while Webb copied the Astley's costumes for both; or finally, a tempting possibility is that the differences reflect actual changes made at Astley's in order to keep up to date with the military uniforms as they were reportedly worn at the front. The Russian Infantry spiked helmet, for example, (Fig.113) was apparently replaced in 1855 during the progress of the war by "an almost cylindrical shako"⁵ (Fig.114) and the fact that Webb's costumes seem to reflect this change seems to suggest that he was responding to the efforts of the Astley's Wardrobe to keep up with the military fashions.

One minor detail of this play worth comment is the inclusion of a scene in which Harry Hawser is disguised as a woman (Fig.118). To judge from the

⁵ Kannik, Military Uniforms in Colour, p.211.

character sheets alone in both the Green and Webb versions, it would seem that this example of transvestite humour was a major feature of the piece. It is remarkable how many examples of this particular form of comic business are represented among the plays of the Juvenile Drama.



Fig.118

Rob Roy

Published in halfpenny sheets, December 26, 1855.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.5.

Earlier editions of this play had been published by West, Jameson, Hodgson, W.Clarke, and Allen, but since none of these are represented in The Sage Collection it is not possible to free the Green edition from the suspicion of piracy and no examination of this play, therefore, will be attempted.

Dred: The Freeman of the Dismal Swamp

Published in halfpenny sheets, December 26, 1856.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.24.

The complete play comprises:

8 Character plates (4)

11 Scene plates (6)

3 Wing plates (1)

Book (1)

No editions of this play had been published prior to Green's; it is original to Green.

Dred, A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp was originally the title of a novel by Harriet Beecher Stowe, published in 1856. The novel expressed a sharp indictment of the practice of slavery in the Southern States of America and concentrated its attack primarily on the hypocrisy and apathy of the legal and religious authorities. The central figure of the novel, the fugitive slave, Dred, was a monstrously unreal character, described by the London Times as "a first-rate Biblical scholar, who would answer you with pages from the Hebrew prophets if you only inquired the way to the next inn",¹ and it must

¹The London Times, October 22, 1856.

be admitted that a more unlikely subject for dramatization could hardly be found. However, in the wake of the phenomenal success as a stage play of Mrs. Stowe's earlier novel, Uncle Tom's Cabin (see above, p.205), it is not surprising that attempts were made to do the same service to Dred. Stage versions in 1856 are recorded by Nicoll at the following theatres: the Surrey (a version by F.L. Phillips and J.Colman, opening in October),² the Queen's (a version by W.E.Suter, also opening in October),³ and the Britannia and the Victoria (both versions by unknown authors, opening in September).⁴ From the Times advertising columns comes the information that there was also a version at the Standard in December,⁵ and even an equestrian spectacle on the same subject at Astley's in November.⁶ Any of these productions could have provided the model for Green's version.

Of the six versions listed, only one script is available for study: that by Suter which was performed at the Queen's; but a brief examination of this script reveals

² Nicoll, A History of English Drama, V, 522.

³ Ibid., V. 587.

⁴ Ibid., V. 670

⁵ The London Times, December 1, 1856.

⁶ Ibid., November 15, 1856.

that it could not possibly have been the one that Green used. Green's version follows the plot of the original novel quite closely, including the preliminary sub-plot concerning the romance between Nina Gordon and Edward Clayton which ends with Nina's death from cholera. The Suter version omits this entire section of the novel and begins just after Nina's death.

The only other version for which any kind of information is available is that which was performed at the Surrey. A fairly extensive review given by the Times⁷ suggests that the adaptation (by Phillips and Colman) can have differed in no major way from that used by Green. Indeed there are some details in the Surrey production which distinguish it from the Stowe novel but which are similar to details found in the Green version. Therefore, even if Green had not copied the production itself, it is

⁷Ibid., October 22, 1856. There was also a short review in Illustrated London News, October 25, 1856.

The cast of the Surrey production included the following:
 Mr. Shepherd as Tom Gordon,
 Mr. Creswick as Dred,
 Mr. Potter as Harry,
 Mr. Widdicomb as Uncle Tiff,
 Mr. Vollaire as Mr. Jekyll,
 Miss A. Biddles as Nina Gordon,
 Miss Jackson as Cora Gordon,
 also: Mons. Fillis and Family.

most likely that it was the Phillips and Colman script that he used. For example, in the novel the character of Cora Gordon is given very little prominence: she is met only once and then in prison for having murdered her children; in the Surrey version, however, Cora was no longer an infanticide but "forced to work on Tom Gordon's cotton plantation... [where]... she is literally flogged by his order till the executioner is laid low by the knife of the ever ready Dred".⁸ This scene is also featured in Green's version where it is given particular prominence by the use of a special cut-out door flat which opens to reveal Dred standing over the body of his victim (Scene 11). This is a neat piece of theatricality on Green's part for which the novel gives no authority and which the publisher must therefore have copied from some stage adaptation. Evidence that ties the Green version more closely to the Surrey production in particular is found in the final tableau. The Surrey version again differs from the novel in that Tom Gordon, the villain of the piece, is made to die by the hand of Dred at the end of the play. The Times remarked: "though Dred dies a few minutes afterwards, we

⁸The London Times, October 22, 1856.

are informed by a transparency at the end of the piece that the soul of the sable hero is on the road to the realms of bliss".⁹ Tom Gordon's death and this skyward translation of Dred are also reproduced by Green, and the tableau is illustrated in the frontispiece of his book of words (Fig.119).



Fig.119

Although there is no way of telling whether any of the other stage versions of Dred could have contributed anything to Green's version, it does seem highly likely that the

⁹ Ibid.

publisher was influenced by the Surrey production or by a production that used a very similar adaptation of the novel.

Of all Green's plays, the quality of the drawing of the characters in Dred is probably the highest: it has a vigour and fluidity of form that is quite delightful, and it seems certain that an artist of more than average ability was employed in this case. What is most important to this study is that the characters have an individuality about them that clearly distinguishes them from each other and places them in a class higher than in so many of Green's other plays where one hero looks much like another and one villain like the next. For example, the artist has managed to portray the submissive, pained expression and posture of Harry (Fig.120), the brutal nature of Hokum (Fig.121), the swaggering arrogance of Tom and the pedantic lawyer-like posture of Jekyll (Fig.122)



Fig.120



Fig.121



Fig.122

in a series of portraits that suggests that he had very real models before his eyes.¹⁰ The dancing figures of Pompey, Lettice and the slaves (Fig.123) are also of interest.



Fig.123

The composition of this group is extremely natural and full of life, and it should be compared with the dancing figures in Blue Jackets (Fig.66), who are not badly drawn themselves, to see just how exceptional it is. Each figure

¹⁰ If these models were indeed the actors at the Surrey, the following comments from the Times, October 22, 1856, are relevant:

Mr. Shepherd as Tom Gordon, is the most rollicking of tyrants, and roysters through his career of ferocity with a sense of enjoyment that distinguishes him from those moody villains so common upon the stage... The little sketch of Jekyll, the hypocritical attorney, is filled up with a great deal of quiet nature by Mr. Vollaire.

has a slightly different personality and is drawn in a different relationship to the others yet contributes to the life and movement of the dance as a whole. This dance, which accompanies the song "De North Carolina Rose", must have been one of the highlights of the stage play since it serves no dramatic function in Green's script and yet is still inserted in a scene of its own (Scene 6), presumably for its own sake alone.¹¹ The banjo and the (castanets? spoons? wood blocks?) in the dancers' hands give an impression of the accompaniment to the song and dance that would not necessarily have been gained from the Green script alone (or, indeed, from the Phillips and Colman script were it available), and it may be assumed that this is a very tolerable and certainly evocative impression of what must have been a highly popular scene.¹²

¹¹ The song does feature in the novel (Vol.II, chap.5) but it is curious to note that Green's character Pompey was called Dulcimer in the original.

¹² In the Surrey production it is to be supposed that the "Mons.Fillis and Family" mentioned in a Times advertisement, October 20, 1856, were the dancers in question. The musical director was Mr.Jolly.

Another scene in the play which must have been something of a success, with the children at least, is that where Uncle Tiff¹³ has his coat torn in half in a scuffle between Cripps and Polly Skinflint (Fig.124). This incident has no precedent in the novel, and yet Green makes it a comic highlight of his play. It must be assumed that this incident was not of the publisher's origination, however, but something introduced into the live theatre production that he saw, for this is not an easy scene to reproduce in the toy theatre and requires a duplicate set of characters (Fig.125) to achieve its full comic effect.

The drawing of the scenes for this play, though less impressive than that of the characters, was probably by the same artist. The Times review of the Surrey production remarked of the mise-en-scène that "great pains had been taken," and that "the different parts of the swamp formed effective backgrounds".¹⁴ Green's swamp

¹³ Uncle Tiff was played by Mr. Widdicomb at the Surrey. The Times commented: "That Mr. Widdicomb in this part would elicit the frequent roars of his audience might be expected, but his occasional touches of pathos deserve especial commendation." The Times, October 22, 1856.

¹⁴ Ibid.

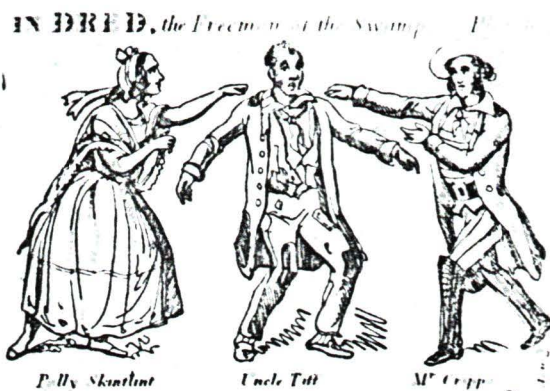


Fig.124



Fig.125

scenes (Fig.126-128) have a sameness which is presumably inevitable in any heterogenous swamp but, although the far distance in each scene looks very similar, the foreground trees and undergrowth are in fact all very different. In the live theatre, these trees must have been painted on rather elaborate cut-out wings, and it seems more than likely from the way in which Green has reproduced these scenes that in the live production the backcloth for all the swamp scenes remained the same while the wings and

ground-rows alone were changed to indicate different locations in the swamp. This does not demonstrate anything particularly unusual in the theatrical practice of the time, but the fact that this use of changeable scenery seems to be reflected so clearly in the swamp scenes, when Green could quite easily have used the same scene over and over or drawn a less theatrical-looking swamp, seems to speak for an honest attempt at fidelity to what was seen on the stage of the original live production.



Fig. 126



Fig.127

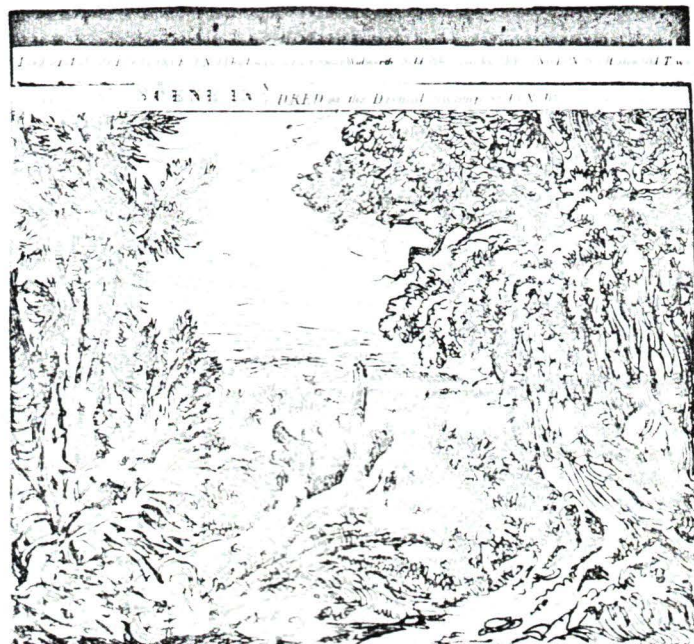


Fig.128

The costumes in Green's Dred are of contemporary fashion and not particularly remarkable, except in that they are consistent. Many of the men are shown wearing wide-brimmed straw hats, and the negro slaves mostly wear striped shirts and pants. These were presumably fashions that were generally believed to be typical of the American South, and a comparison between Green's costumes (Fig.119) and a contemporary illustration (Fig.129) shows that Green was certainly consistent with the popular image of what plantation owners and their slaves were accustomed to wear.



Figure 28. Escape

Fig.129

Sixteen String Jack; or, The Highwaymen of
Hounslow Heath

Published in halfpenny sheets, January 1, 1857.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.70.

The complete play comprises:

9 Character plates (9)
11 Scene plates (11)
4 Wing plates (2)

Book (1)

No earlier edition of this play had been published; it is original to Green.

Sixteen String Jack belongs to the same genre of highwaymen dramas as Jack Sheppard and Rookwood.

Frank Rahill, in The World of Melodrama, has written:

Sixteen String Jack was among the first of the Tyburn heroes to be glorified on the stage under the banner of melodrama, Leman Rede producing an arrangement of his exploits for the Coburg in 1823. This spectacle was rewritten and presented as a regular melodrama in 1841 at the height of the vogue for highwaymen plays.¹

According to Nicoll there were in fact two versions of the play being performed in London in early 1840s: the one by Rede at the Olympic from November 15, 1841,² and one by

¹Rahill, The World of Melodrama, p.148.

²Nicoll, A History of English Drama, IV, 390.

T.E.Wilks at Sadler's Wells from November 28, 1842.³ The scripts of both versions are available and a comparison with the Green script reveals that it was the Rede version that provided Green's model: the characters, scenes and dialogue are unmistakably alike.

The principal difficulty to be met with in an examination of this play is that while its first contemporary stage production was in 1841, the juvenile version did not appear until 1857. It seems likely that, like Jack Sheppard, the play enjoyed a number of revivals, but there are none recorded (in the Times at least) that remotely coincide with the date of Green's edition. There is a possibility that this could be a case, as with Jack the Giant Killer (see above, p.228), where Green simply delayed his publication for several years. The drawing of the characters in Sixteen String Jack suggests that this is unlikely, however, for it is evidently by the same hand that drew the characters for Dred in 1856 (see above, p.259) and it is difficult to believe that

³ Ibid., IV, 421. The Wilks version was in fact performed at the City of London Theatre as early as 1840: that theatre is named in the Lacy edition of the script and such a production is also recorded by Williams in Some London Theatres, p.52.

fifteen years could have separated the drawing of two plays in so similar a style. There is good reason to be suspicious of the origins of this play, for although the characters seem to be drawn in a lively and theatrical manner, the scenes are rather clumsily rendered. There also seems to be a rather larger than usual number of "stock" scenes employed: out of the eleven, three are engraved with the names of other earlier plays, and a closer examination of the remaining "originals" reveals that Scene 2 (Fig.130) is actually a reversed copy of a scene in Jack Sheppard (see Fig.41).



Fig.130

This scene (together possibly with Scene 11) also appears to have been drawn by a hand different to that which drew the remaining scenes. These remaining "original" scenes appear to have been drawn by the same artist who drew the characters but they are fussily drawn and rather unattractive (eg.Fig.131).



Fig.131

With nearly half of the scenes of a suspect nature, little could be deduced about a live stage original even if a candidate for such could be identified. The only available candidate, in fact, is the old 1841 Olympic production and although any connection between the actual production and Green's version seems tenuous, the Rede script at least is worth study. The most interesting

thing about this script is the list of costumes that it contains. Specific demands are made here for the costumes to be in the style of 1792, and when the costume descriptions are compared with Green's characters it is found that Green has indeed satisfied those demands, virtually to the letter. For example, Miss Manby is required to wear a "White satin short-sleeved tucked-up gown and petticoat of that period, '92 - long ringlet hair, with pearls in head-dress..."⁴ and this compares very favourably with Green's version (Fig.132). Even more impressive are Green's drawings of two characters in opposing extremes of fashion: Beau Brummel (Fig.133) and the servant Theophilus (Fig.134). In the Rede script, Brummel is described as wearing "Grey dress lappelled coat - white waistcoat - white kerseymere small clothes - top boots, conical hat, bag wig, etc."⁵ and Theophilus wears "Grey old-fashioned suit - white lamb's wool stockings - shoes and buckles - bib - ruffles - grey hair."⁶

⁴ From the Costume List in the Davidson edition of Rede's Sixteen String Jack.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.



Fig.132



Fig.133



Fig.134

It almost seems as though Green was basing his character drawings on these very descriptions, and in the absence of a close contemporary production of the play one may well be tempted to accept that this was in fact the case. The inadequacy of the scenes would seem to support this idea, but why Green should have published the play at all, so many years after its initial success remains a mystery.

The Daughter of the Regiment

Published in halfpenny sheets, September 1, 1857.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.21.

The complete play comprises:

- 3 Character plates (3)
- 2 Scene plates (2)
- 2 Wing plates (0)

Book (1)

No earlier edition of this play had been published; it is original to Green.

The Daughter of the Regiment is best known as a comic opera by Donizetti. With a libretto by Bayard and St. Georges, the opera was first performed in Paris in 1840.¹ The first production of the libretto in London was apparently at the Haymarket (date unknown),² but the names of the characters in this libretto are not quite the same as those used by Green and it must be assumed that this was not Green's model. In any case, Green's version is a drama with songs inserted rather than an opera. There were other versions of The Daughter of the Regiment in London, however, shortly after the Donizetti original was performed in Paris. A drama by Edward Fitzball seems to have been the first: it was produced at Drury Lane on November 30, 1843, and its alternative title was Madelaine.³ The name Madelaine agrees with Green's character's name and the Fitzball text matches Green's very closely in all its details. A space of fourteen years

¹ The International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians, p.555

² From the libretto published by G.Stuart (18--).

³ Nicoll, A History of English Drama, IV, 316.

however, separates the Drury Lane production from Green's and an engraving in the Dicks edition of the Fitzball text (Fig.135) illustrates costumes that are sufficiently different to those drawn by Green (Fig.136) to make it seem unlikely that Green saw or copied this first Drury Lane production.



Fig.135



Fig.136

On December 21, 1847, a new operatic version of the play, again by Fitzball, opened at the Surrey.⁴ Another operatic version by Thomas Archer opened at the

⁴

Ibid., IV, 317

Princess's in the summer of 1848⁵ and in September 1855 a comic opera with the same title but by an unknown author was performed at Drury Lane.⁶ The opera/drama had clearly become a firm favourite and in July 1857 it appeared again as an afterpiece in an operatic summer season at the Surrey.⁷ It is not clear whether this latter was a full operatic version but it seems probable that it was based on the second Fitzball text that had been written for the Surrey ten years earlier, and most likely that this was the version that Green saw and copied: the timing is exactly right. No more information about this production can be found, however, and no further examination of the relationship between it and Green's juvenile version can therefore be attempted.

⁵ Ibid., IV, 255. A manuscript of the libretto for this opera shows character names that are different from those used by Green.

⁶ Ibid., V, 664.

⁷ The London Times, July 20, 1857. Among the cast were Mr. Manvers, A. Cooke and Miss Dyer.

Goody Goose; or, Harlequin Greenheart - pantomime

Published in halfpenny sheets - no date given.

The Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.88.

The complete play comprises:

10 Character plates (8)
 14 Scene plates (0)
 2 Trick plates (0)
 5 Wing plates (1)

Book (0)

No earlier edition of this pantomime had been published; it is original to Green.

It is curious that Green should have broken from his normal practice and engraved no date on the sheets of this pantomime. It can, however, be fairly readily dated within a few months, since only one production of a pantomime of this title is recorded by Nicoll,¹ and a review of this production in the Illustrated London News² provides sufficient detail about plot and characters to confirm that this was indeed Green's model. The full title of the pantomime was Goody Goose; or, Harlequin Greenheart and the Good Boy who helped the Poor Old Woman Home from

¹ Nicoll, A History of English Drama, V, 412.

² The Illustrated London News, January 1, 1859.

Market (a title remarkable for its extreme length and clumsiness, even for the Nineteenth Century); it was written by C.H.Hazlewood and first performed at the Marylebone Theatre on December 26, 1858.³ Green's edition must have been published either immediately after this production (perhaps in time for Easter 1859) or towards the end of 1859 ready for the following Christmas. If Green followed his normal practice the most likely date of publication would have been December 26, 1859. Green died in 1860 and so Goody Goose may well have been his last publication: it was certainly his last pantomime, and it is curiously fitting that it should have borne a title so closely related to that with which the whole Juvenile Drama trade had begun nearly fifty years earlier (see references to Mother Goose, above p.56). Whether Goody Goose was in any way a consciously sentimental farewell to the trade by the old publisher cannot be known, but the fact remains that just as the Mother Goose of Grimaldi had been typical of the English pantomime at its classical

³A small internal detail that helps to fix the date of the pantomime is the character of a Showman with a telescope on Plate 7. The character bears the caption "A fine view of the Comit [sic] ". The comet was undoubtedly Donati's Comet which made a fine display in the London sky during the autumn of 1858.

best, so Goody Goose is typical of the genre at the very point of its disintegration, and the neatness with which Green's long career spans the decline of the pantomime harlequinade in particular is quite remarkable.

The review in the Illustrated London News does not provide a great deal of information about the Marylebone production⁴ and there are no scenes from the Green edition in The Sage Collection,⁵ but the character sheets are certainly worth examination. Crudely drawn as these sheets are, they reveal at least one startling fact: there are two Clowns. This duplication of characters is typical

⁴The cast of the pantomime as given in the Illustrated London News was as follows:

Mr. Carl Rowella as Harlequin,
Messrs. Sylvestre and Fritz Rowella as Clowns,
Harry Bolton as Pantaloon,
Miss Annette Howell as Columbine,
Miss Marie Rowella as Punchette.

Goody Goose was plainly something of a family affair. The Rowella family is one of the more famous theatrical families mentioned by Sherson in London's Lost Theatres of the XIX Century (p.29). Williams, in Some London Theatres (p.109), adds to this cast list slightly by stating that the lessee of the Marylebone, Mr. J.H. Arnold Cave, played the role of Greenheart. Greenheart is transformed to Harlequin in the course of the pantomime. Presumably Cave played the straight acting role in the opening and then the more acrobatic Carl Rowella took over for the harlequinade.

⁵The scenic artist was Mr. Frederick Fenton - Williams, Some London Theatres, p.109.

of the efforts being made in the middle decades of the century to add variety and spectacle to the ailing harlequinade, and the Illustrated London News review confirms not only the presence of the duplicate Clowns but reveals that an additional character, Punchette, was also featured in the production: again, presumably in an effort to bring variety and innovation to the traditional format.⁶ With hindsight it can be seen that it was such innovations that helped to undermine the old traditions of the harlequinade and led to their ultimate replacement by scenic effects and spectacle.

What is most interesting about Goody Goose from the point of view of the Juvenile Drama is that Green actually appears to have made an effort to distinguish between the two Clowns on his character sheets. A Clown's make-up and costume were conventionalized to such a degree and the character was regarded so much as a stock character (certainly in the eyes of children who could have no idea of the different personalities of the actors playing the role) that one might forgive a publisher for

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At the Pavilion for that same year, 1858, the pantomime featured not only two Clowns but two Pantaloons also - the Illustrated London News, January 1, 1859.

drawing identical Clowns for all his pantomimes. In fact a number of publishers actually issued stock sheets of identical "Pantomime Characters" for use with any pantomime,⁷ and very little of the individual personalities of the various Clowns in Green's many pantomimes can be discerned. But here in his very last pantomime Green shows that he did make a certain effort to achieve a degree of fidelity, even to the live models of his Clowns. If the two Clowns in Goody Goose (Fig.137) are compared it can be seen that although basic make-up and costumes are similar they are not identical and the differences that are apparent are consistent throughout Green's sheets. It is possible, of course, that the differences were invented by Green in order to help in the identification of the Clowns by the juvenile performer, but in cases where similar characters had to be distinguished on the same sheet it was normally the practice to label one of them "Fig.1." and the other "Fig.2.", etc., and this Green did in some cases on the Goody Goose sheets. The costume differences, therefore, can only be explained by actual differences as they appeared on the stage at the Marylebone.

⁷Such sheets are featured in the Sage Collection, Accession No.975.2.200.

In such a late work, when Green was presumably somewhat fixed in his ways, such evidence for fidelity to his models has to be considered as highly significant.⁸



Fig.137

The Miller and His Men [III]

Published in halfpenny sheets (alternative edition) - no date given.

Not represented in The Sage Collection.

⁸ It may also be worth noting the costumes of the other harlequinade characters. Whereas the basic dress of Harlequin, Pantaloon and Clown appears to have changed little, if at all, throughout the period covered by Green's career, the skirts of Columbine were definitely responding to contemporary fashion by becoming shorter during that time, and a comparison between the Columbine in Goody Goose (Fig. 137) and the two Columbines illustrated above in connection with Harlequin Guy Fawkes (Figs.20 & 21) will readily illustrate this.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

Between 1832 and his death in 1860, J.K.Green published fifty-five plays. Forty-six of these plays are represented in The Sage Collection, and of these forty-six at least twenty-six were original works which had not previously been issued by other publishers. It is an examination of these twenty-six plays which makes up the bulk of Chapter IV, and as a result of this examination it has been possible, with varying degrees of certainty, to identify the live stage productions upon which at least nineteen of the juvenile plays were based. These plays and the theatres at which the live model productions were presented are given in Table II. For the remaining seven plays the problem of identification has not been hindered by a lack of live productions upon which the plays may have been based so much as by an over-abundance of them.

TABLE II

Green's Plays and the Live Theatres at
which they were Produced

<u>Plays</u>	<u>Theatres</u>
Harlequin Guy Fawkes	Covent Garden
Wapping Old Stairs	Surrey
Lord Darnley	Surrey
Jack Sheppard	Surrey
Rookwood	Sadler's Wells
Castle of Otranto	Covent Garden
Harlequin Riddle-me-ree	Olympic
Harlequin Robin Hood	Queen's
Harlequin St. George	Drury Lane
Sleeping Beauty	Queen's
Belphegor the Conjuror	Queen's
Harlequin Oliver Cromwell	City of London
Harlequin Uncle Tom's Cabin	Pavilion
Jack the Giant Killer	Olympic
The Battle of the Alma	Surrey
The Battles of Balaclava, etc.	Astley's
Dred	Surrey
The Daughter of the Regiment	Surrey
Goody Goose	Marylebone

At least one third of Green's plays, then, can be related directly to specific productions in specific theatres. In time, no doubt, many more might also be so related, for this thesis has not taken into account the twenty-nine plays by Green that are either absent from The Sage Collection or bear titles that had previously been issued by other publishers. In such cases, although they may not bear original titles, the plays may still have been legitimately based on new productions (see above, p.53).

The Theatres

Of the nineteen plays for which live model productions have been identified, six were at the Surrey Theatre. This was one of the theatres closest to Green's own home in Walworth and it is not, therefore, surprising that it should have been a favourite with him, although the reason why Green selected so many Surrey productions probably had more to do with the fact that the Surrey presented precisely the kind of swashbuckling melodrama most suited to the tastes of the patrons of the Juvenile Drama. After the Surrey, the next most popular theatre with Green seems to have been the Queen's, and again this

is hardly surprising since the kind of plays presented there, particularly during the management of C.S. James, were highly suited to the juvenile trade (see above, p.180). The entire list of theatres that provided Green with his models is remarkable for its diversity, ranging from the "legitimate" patent houses to the disreputable "Dust Hole", and reaching from one side of London to the other. It should be noted, however, that the patent houses are only on the list as a result of their having provided Green with a number of pantomimes, and that "respectable" houses such as the Haymarket, the Princess's or the Lyceum, are not represented. On the whole, Green seems to have favoured the less respectable "minor" houses in the suburbs of London although, with only nineteen out of fifty-five plays, it is difficult to be certain that this represents a reliable sample of Green's choice of theatres.

The sample is also heavily weighted by the pantomimes. It has proven much easier to identify the theatres at which Green's pantomimes were produced than the theatres which presented his dramas, since there was invariably only one production of any given pantomime in any year, while there may have been as many as six or

more productions of a really popular drama such as Jack Sheppard. If the ten pantomimes are removed from the list of nineteen plays in Table II, the Surrey Theatre assumes an even greater importance since none of the six plays attributed to that theatre were pantomimes. The next step in an examination of the work of J.K.Green must surely be to determine how many of his other plays were also produced at the Surrey shortly before he published them in the juvenile form, but this remains outside the scope of this thesis.

Proof of Fidelity

Among the nineteen plays that have been identified as based upon actual productions it has been possible to find considerable evidence to suggest that Green's copies are, within the limits of his artists' skills, accurate and faithful copies of what was seen upon the live stage. This evidence is not (and probably can never be) conclusive. It is only through the accumulation of tiny details from play to play that a general picture can be assembled, but it is relatively easy to accumulate such details whereas it is almost impossible to find any evidence that Green deliberately or

accidentally altered any vital piece of scenery or costume, cut any important character or property, or reorganized any play to make it more acceptable to his juvenile audience. Of course, Green edited the scripts and frequently omitted characters and scenes, but none of these were ever vital. In fact, the best evidence for Green's fidelity to his models is the number of occasions when he did not cut as much as might have been expected, and drew details on his sheets that appeared in the live production but were not really necessary in his edited version (see above, for example, Wapping Old Stairs, p.112, Sleeping Beauty, p.187, and Goody Goose, p.281).

These gratuitous details form the major category of proof for fidelity. In addition to this there is the specific evidence of Harlequin Guy Fawkes (see above, p.97) in which the similarity of two independent juvenile versions indicates that both must have been copied quite faithfully from the original production. Finally, there is the evidence of newspaper reports and other contemporary material which describes or illustrates productions in the same terms that they are reproduced by Green: the Illustrated London News engraving of Jack the Giant Killer

(Fig.99) is an excellent example of this.

There is one major difficulty that hinders a final positive conclusion about Green's fidelity to live stage productions. This involves the degree to which Green made use of the information provided by the original script or prompt copy of the live production. The original script of Rede's Sixteen String Jack, for example, (see above, p.272) contains sufficient information about costumes and scenery for Green to have based his version on this alone without ever having visited the production in the theatre. The only way in which this difficulty can be resolved is by comparing details on Green's sheets with both newspaper reviews and the original scripts, but there has not been a sufficient amount of material available to make this possible in Victoria.

Scenery

There is still good reason, nevertheless, to believe that in a number of cases Green did copy directly from the live stage. This stems from a close examination of the way in which many of Green's scenes are drawn. It must be admitted that none of the juvenile plays can approach remotely the complexity and elaborateness of the

scenery and trick effects that were achieved on the live stage of the time, but when the Juvenile Drama scenes are all the visual records available (as they are in many cases) they deserve attention, and in many cases these scenes do seem, almost unnecessarily, to represent actual stage scenery. The appearance of what look like wings, borders and ground-rows drawn onto the backcloths in some of Green's plays, even when Green also provided practical wings, etc. of his own (see above, for example, Jack Sheppard, p.122, and Dred, p.259) seems to argue that the live stage picture was copied almost slavishly at times, and it seems unlikely that Green could have based these very theatrical-looking scenes upon the information provided by a script alone.

Costume

It is a pity that more of Green's plays were not historical dramas. The period from 1830 to 1860 was precisely the period during which a concern for historical accuracy was transforming the costumes of the London stage, and it would be desirable to use the Juvenile Drama to illustrate this transformation. Certainly the plays of Green do nothing to contradict the trend: The Lord Mayor's

Fool, an early play set in 1462, displays a remarkable hotchpotch of historical styles while the costumes in Sixteen String Jack, a late play set in 1792, are very consistent with that date. The majority of Green's plays, however, are not period pieces as such and are clothed either in contemporary modern or fantastic dress, so that the sample taken for this particular study of the Juvenile Drama is not very illuminating in the field of costume.

The Value of Juvenile Drama

It should be pointed out that the Juvenile Drama need never (and perhaps should never) be used as sole evidence for what a specific stage production looked like. Normally the material used to establish the identity of the production in the first place will itself provide a considerable amount of evidence for what that production was like, and all that the juvenile version can do is provide an overall visual impression (hopefully of the complete play) and supply small details which might otherwise be overlooked (see Appendix B). The Juvenile Drama, however, has a more important function. The Juvenile Drama publishers reproduced only the most popular plays of the day and the canon of their works represents a

spectrum of all the most typical and successful genres of popular theatre in the early and mid-Nineteenth Century. An examination of the list of these works can therefore help to direct theatre historians into avenues of research that are of the greatest relevance to the popular theatre of Nineteenth Century London. Juvenile Drama can, in other words, serve as a springboard to further research rather than remain an end in itself. If the works of Green are examined in this light several broad categories of drama immediately stand out as deserving particular attention.

Highwaymen Dramas

These include Jack Sheppard, Rookwood, Sixteen String Jack and perhaps also Robert Macaire. The main topic of research that this category would seem to suggest is the curious relationship between crime and heroism on the Nineteenth Century stage, and the fact that the Juvenile Drama publishers must have been responding to some kind of preference for crime plays on the part of their juvenile patrons must surely throw interesting light on the topic.

The Adaptation "from the French"

Robert Macaire, Belphegor, The Corsican Brothers and The Daughter of the Regiment are all good representatives of this group. The reason why French plays should have had such an appeal requires examination; the peculiar properties of these plays as compared to the home-grown commodity, and their influence on the English stage are also topics that could use the Juvenile Drama both as a starting point for research and then as a source of illustrative material.

Adaptations from Novels

Jack Sheppard, Rookwood, The Castle of Otranto, Harlequin Uncle Tom's Cabin and Dred, are all examples of these. An examination of the business of hack playwriting, the problems of successful adaptation from one medium to another and the influence of novel illustrations on the use of tableaux vivants (see above, Jack Sheppard, p.145) are topics suggested by this category.

Nautical and Military Dramas

What do such plays as Wapping Old Stairs, The Life of a Soldier and The Battles of the Alma, Balaclava

and Inkermann reveal about the popular contemporary view of warfare and empire-building? Can anything be learnt about the relationship between drama and national propaganda from an examination of these plays as they were performed at Astley's and the Surrey?

Pantomime

There is a clear pattern to Green's publication habits with regard to this genre: he nearly always published them on the Boxing Day of the year following that in which they were first produced; that is, Green generally waited twelve months before issuing them. The reason for this habit is quite clear. Pantomimes opened on Boxing Day; if Green made his copy and published it immediately after an opening he would be too late for the Christmas trade and, unless he waited a few weeks, too early to know which pantomime was likely to be the most popular. In any case it is unlikely that he would have been able to obtain a script until a few weeks after the opening. The best solution was to copy the most appropriate pantomime at his leisure and then wait until Christmas came round again so that it could be put on sale right at the moment when children were thinking about

nothing else.

In fact, it seems probable that Green falsified the dates on his pantomime sheets slightly in order to make them appear to coincide with the opening of the real pantomimes on the live stage: they were probably available for sale a few days earlier than Boxing Day itself, for there is no reason why Green should have kept his pantomime a whole year and then published it hurriedly at the very last minute.

Undoubtedly the pantomimes are the most important aspect of Green's work: out of his fifty-five plays eleven were pantomimes and ten of these have been discussed in detail in Chapter IV. All of these ten have been identified with specific theatres. Pantomime as a genre during the mid-Nineteenth Century was in a state of transition, and it is the way in which Green's pantomimes reflect this transition that makes them valuable today. The changing role of the principal actors (see above, Harlequin Guy Fawkes, p.97), the development of spectacular scenery (The Castle of Otranto, p.163), the changing emphasis from the old manual tricks of Grimaldi to spectacular mechanical tricks (The Castle of Otranto, p.163) and the introduction

of duplicate characters in the harlequinade (Goody Goose, p.281) are all features of this transition that are illustrated among the works of Green.

Humour

Apart from studies of specific genres of drama, the Juvenile Drama may also lead to studies of certain recurring elements to be found in all the plays: certain types of humour, for example. Green appears to have preserved many incidental scenes of humour even in quite serious melodramas. It would be interesting to see whether these scenes share anything in common. Certainly the frequency with which Green reproduces scenes of transvestite humour seems significant and, in view of the fact that these plays immediately preceded the introduction of the "Dame" into pantomime, there may be an interesting link to be found between the development of humour on the legitimate stage and in the Christmas entertainment. Such a study could not, of course, be based on Green's plays alone since his own sense of humour may well have dictated the kind of comic scenes he reproduced, but it should be possible within the broader context of a number of different Juvenile Drama publishers' work.

Conclusion

It is not possible, from the evidence that has been accumulated here, to make a final statement about the degree of fidelity that can be expected of J.K.Green. It is difficult to know how such a degree might be measured in any case, but it does seem possible to make a more confident statement about that fidelity than has been made hitherto. It has been said that the original plays of Green and his contemporaries reproduced the theatre of the mid-Nineteenth Century "in a general way".¹ It would now seem possible to confirm this opinion with specific detail that shows that in the majority of cases when Green published a new title it was a direct copy of a specific live production and that in all important details it reflected faithfully the costumes, scenery and action of that production. Most reservations about the quality of the drawing and the levelling effect of the engraving still apply. This thesis has attempted to make use of the kind of detailed evidence that has not previously been marshalled: that is evidence based on

¹ Speaight, The History of the English Toy Theatre, p.51.

reports of specific productions rather than on impressions of the theatre in general during the relevant period. More should be done. It has not been possible in Victoria, for example, to make use of the vast collections of playbills, scripts and contemporary prints that exist in major centres such as London, but limited as it is, the work that has been possible in Victoria still demonstrates the potential value of Juvenile Drama to theatre historians and confirms that the Sage Collection can be of immediate value to the University of Victoria.

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APPENDIX A

Plays Published by British Publishers Represented
in the Sage Collection

This listing follows the same format as used by Speaight in his Appendix B to The History of the English Toy Theatre. This format has also been followed in one of the catalogues compiled for the University of Toronto Collection of Juvenile Drama in The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library.

<u>PLAY</u>	<u>PUBLISHERS</u>	<u>ACCESSION No.</u>
<u>Plays from Shakespeare</u>		
Hamlet	B.Pollock (1948 film version)	975.2.1
Othello	Skelt	975.2.2
Richard III	Skelt Green Pollock G.Skelt	975.2.3
<u>Plays from Sir Walter Scott</u>		
Ivanhoe	Skelt	975.2.4
Rob Roy Macgregor	Green	975.2.5
<u>Dramas, Melodramas, Tragedies, Spectacles</u>		
Aladdin	Skelt Webb Green Pollock	975.2.6

The Battle of the Alma	Green Webb	975.2.7
The Battles of Balaclava and Inkermann	Green Webb	975.2.8
The Battle of Waterloo	Skelt Green Pollock	975.2.9
Belphegor the Conjurer	Green	975.2.10
Black Beard the Pirate	Green Mathews Pollock G.Skelt	975.2.11
Black Eyed Susan	Lloyd G.Skelt	975.2.12
The Blind Boy	Skelt Park Pollock	975.2.13
Blue Beard	Skelt Webb G.Skelt	975.2.14
The Brigand	Skelt Redington Pollock	975.2.15
The Brigand's Son	Webb Clark	975.2.16
Captain Ross	Skelt	975.2.17
The Charcoal Burner	Skelt	975.2.18
The Children in the Wood	Skelt Pollock G.Skelt	975.2.19

The Corsican Brothers	Green Pollock	975.2.20
The Daughter of the Regiment	Green Pollock	975.2.21
Don Quixote	Pollock G.Skelt	975.2.22
Douglas	Redington Pollock G.Skelt	975.2.23
Dred	Green Webb	975.2.24
The Dumb Boy and his Monkey	Andrews	975.2.25
The Echo of Westminster Bridge	Skelt	975.2.26
The Exile of Siberia	G.Skelt (portrait only)	975.2.27
The Falls of Clyde	Skelt	975.2.28
The Floating Beacon	Skelt Mathews	975.2.29
The Flying Dutchman	Green	975.2.30
The Forest of Bondy	Skelt Green Webb	975.2.31
The Forty Thieves	Skelt Green Pollock	975.2.32
Der Freischütz	Skelt Park G.Skelt	975.2.33

George Barnwell	Skelt	975.2.34
Guy Fawkes	Webb G.Skelt	975.2.35
The Hero of Switzerland	March	975.2.36
The Hunter of the Alps	Webb	975.2.37
The Inchcape Bell	Skelt	975.2.38
Jack Sheppard	Green	975.2.39
Jacob Faithful	Skelt	975.2.40
Jonathan Bradford	Skelt	975.2.41
King Henry	Redington Pollock	975.2.42
The Life of a Soldier	Green	975.2.43
Lodoiska	Skelt G.Skelt	975.2.44
Lord Darnley	Green Redington Pollock	975.2.45
The Lord Mayor's Fool	Pollock	975.2.46
The Maid and the Magpie	Skelt Park Green Pollock Webb Mathews	975.2.47
The Maid of Genoa	Skelt G.Skelt	975.2.48
Mary the Maid of the Inn	Skelt Green G.Skelt	975.2.49

Mazeppa	Skelt	975.2.50
The Miller and his Men	Skelt Park Pollock Webb Mathews G.Skelt	975.2.51
The Miller's Maid	Skelt Mathews G.Skelt	975.2.52
The Mistletoe Bough	Redington Pollock	975.2.53
My Poll and my Partner Joe	Skelt	975.2.54
The Old Oak Chest	Skelt Park	975.2.55
Oliver Twist	Redington Pollock	975.2.56
One O'Clock	Skelt Park	975.2.57
Paul Clifford	Redington Webb	975.2.58
The Pilot	Skelt	975.2.59
Pizarro	Skelt G.Skelt	975.2.60
The Prisoner of Rochelle	Mathews	975.2.61
Raymond and Agnes	Skelt	975.2.62
The Red Rover	Skelt Park Green Mathews Webb Pollock G.Skelt	975.2.63

Richard I	Webb Clark G.Skelt	975.2.64
Richard Turpin (Rookwood)	Skelt Green G.Skelt	975.2.65
Robert Macaire	Green Mathews	975.2.66
Robin Hood	Webb G.Skelt	975.2.67
Robinson Crusoe	Skelt Mathews	975.2.68
The Rover's Bride	Skelt	975.2.69
Sixteen String Jack	Green	975.2.70
The Smuggler	Webb Clark G.Skelt	975.2.71
Therese	Green	975.2.72
Three Fingred Jack	Webb Mathews	975.2.73
Timour the Tartar	Redington	975.2.74
Uncle Tom's Cabin	Webb	975.2.75
The Union Jack	Webb	975.2.76
Walter Brand	Skelt	975.2.77
Wapping Old Stairs	Green G.Skelt	975.2.78

The Woodman's Hut	Skelt Park Pollock	975.2.79
<u>Comedies, Farces, Burlesques, Extravaqanzas</u>		
Blue Jackets	Green Redington Pollock Mathews	975.2.80
Bombastes Furioso	G.Skelt	975.2.81
Charles II	Redington Pollock	975.2.82
Cinderella	Green Redington Pollock Mathews	975.2.83
The Rifle Volunteers	Webb	975.2.84
State Secrets	Mathews G.Skelt	975.2.85
Tom Thumb	Green	975.2.86
The Waterman	Skelt Green Pollock Mathews G.Skelt	975.2.87
<u>Pantomimes</u>		
Goody Goose	Green	975.2.88
Harlequin and the Giant Helmet (The Castle of Otranto)	Green	975.2.89
Harlequin and Old Dame Trot	Skelt	975.2.90

Harlequin Baron Munchausen	Redington Pollock	975.2.91
Harlequin Cock-a-Doodle-doo	Skelt	975.2.92
Harlequin Dame Crump	Webb	975.2.93
Harlequin Guy Fawkes	Skelt Green	975.2.94
Harlequin Jack Sheppard	Skelt	975.2.95
Harlequin Little King Pippin	Skelt Mathews G.Skelt	975.2.96
Harlequin Little Tom Tucker	Skelt G.Skelt	975.2.97
Harlequin Oliver Cromwell	Green	975.2.98
Harlequin Riddle-me-ree	Green Redington G.Skelt	975.2.99
Harlequin Robin Hood	Green	975.2.100
Harlequin St.George	Green	975.2.101
Harlequin Uncle Tom's Cabin	Green	975.2.102
Harlequin Whittington	Green Redington Pollock	975.2.103
Jack the Giant Killer	Green Pollock Webb Mathews	975.2.104
Little Red Riding Hood	Webb	975.2.105

The Silver Arrow	G.Skelt	975.2.106
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The Sleeping Beauty in the Wood	Green Pollock	975.2.107
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Masques, Ballets, Entertainments

The Silver Palace	Skelt Green Redington Pollock Mathews	975.2.108
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APPENDIX B

Harlequin Jack Sheppard

Published in halfpenny sheets by M & B. Skelt
(1840?).

The Sage Collection, Accession No. 975.2.95.

There can be little doubt that Skelt's Harlequin Jack Sheppard was based upon the Drury Lane pantomime of that title which opened on December 26, 1839.¹ A comparison of the Skelt book of words and plates with a Drury Lane playbill² reveals an exactly similar sequence of scenes, list of characters, etc.

This pantomime is of particular interest, not only because it complements Green's version of the straight drama Jack Sheppard, but because it offers a fine example of how the Juvenile Drama can supply details of a production that might not otherwise come to light. The Drury Lane playbill announces among the various fantastic entertainments in the harlequinade section of the programme: "THE CHIARINI FAMILY" who are to perform "LE PAS DE COCO!" No more is said of this act on the

¹Nicoll, A History of English Drama, IV, 474.

²The playbill, dated December 26, 1839, is held in the Toronto Metropolitan Central Library Theatre Collection.

playbill but The Chiarini Family are featured on Skelt's sheets (Fig.138) and, although no description of "Le Pas de Coco" is given in the book of words, it is quite delightfully evident from the drawing of the characters what this dance consisted of. On each member of the family's hands, knees and chest can be seen the halves of coconut shells which were presumably brought into contact with each other to provide a percussive accompaniment to their dance.



Fig.138

VITA

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<u> </u>	<u> </u>

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Publications:

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Title of Thesis:

THE SAGE COLLECTION OF JUVENILE DRAMA: AN EXAMINATION
OF ITS VALUE AS A SOURCE OF PRIMARY MATERIAL IN
NINETEENTH CENTURY ENGLISH THEATRE RESEARCH.

Author



Signature

Peter Charles Winn

Name

26th April 1976

Date